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THE LEADING

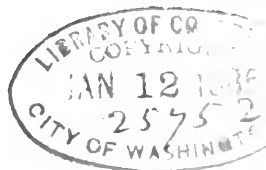
# FACTS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY  
D. H. MONTGOMERY.

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“Nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present came to be what it is.” — STUBBS: *Const. Hist. of England*.

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I dedicate this book  
to my friend **J. J. M.**, who generously  
gave time, labor, and valuable  
suggestions towards its  
preparation for  
the press.





## PREFACE.



MOST of the materials for this book were gathered by the writer during several years' residence in England.

The attempt is here made to present them in a manner that shall illustrate the great law of national growth, in the light thrown upon it by the foremost English historians.

The authorities for the different periods will be found grouped in the Chronological Summary which follows; but the author desires to particularly acknowledge his indebtedness to the works of Gardiner, Guest, and Green, and to the excellent constitutional histories of Taswell-Langmead and Ransome.

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## DESCENT OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS.



I. The Anglo-Saxon or English line, 802-1013 ?	802	Egbert, king of Wessex; in 827 became <i>overlord</i> of all English kingdoms. He was descended from Cerdic, first king of the West-Saxons, 495.
	836	Ethelwulf, son of Egbert.
	858	Ethelbald, son of Ethelwulf.
	860	Ethelbert, second son of Ethelwulf.
	866	Ethelred I., third son of Ethelwulf.
	871	Alfred the Great, fourth son of Ethelwulf; born at Wantage, Berkshire, 849; crowned at Winchester.
	901	Edward the Elder, son of Alfred.
	925	Athelstan, son of Edward the Elder.
	940	Edmund I., second son of Edward the Elder.
	947	Edred, third son of Edward the Elder.
	955	Edwy, son of Edmund I.
	958	Edgar, second son of Edmund I.
	975	Edward the Martyr, son of Edgar.
	979	Ethelred II., the Unready, second son of Edgar.
1013?	Edmund II., Ironside, son of Ethelred II.	
II. The Danish line, 1013?-1042.	1013?	Sweyn.
	1017	Canute (Knut).
	1037	Harold, Harefoot, second son of Canute.
	1040	Hardicannte, third son of Canute.

The Anglo-Saxon or English line (restored), 1042-1066.	1042	Edward III., the Confessor, second son of Ethelred II.; had no issue; during his reign Earl Godwin was virtually the ruler of England.
	1066	Harold II., son of Earl Godwin, and brother-in-law of Edward the Confessor; reigned ten months.
III. The Norman line, 1066-1154.	1066	William the Conqueror, son of Robert, duke of Normandy, and cousin of Edward the Confessor.
	1087	William II., Rufus, <i>i.e.</i> , the Red, second son of William I.
	1100	Henry I., third son of William I.; married Matilda, great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside who was a descendant of Cerdic. Hence the Norman line was connected with the English through the kinship of William I. with Edward the Confessor, and also by Henry's marriage with Matilda. Henry left no lawful son, but a daughter Matilda, who claimed the throne at his death, though only males were then considered eligible, since the sovereign was required to bear arms and lead the forces to battle.
	1135	Stephen, House of Blois, grandson of William I. by his daughter Adela, who married Stephen, Count of Blois.
IV. The Angevin or Plantagenet line, 1154-1399.	1154	Henry II., great-grandson of William I. by his granddaughter Matilda, who married Geoffrey, count of Anjou; hence the title of Angevin. From Geoffrey's habit of wearing in his helmet the broom-plant of Anjou (the <i>planta genista</i> ), he acquired the now famous title of Plantagenet.

	1189	Richard I., second son of Henry II.
	1199	John Lackland, fourth son of Henry II. The name <i>Sans-terre</i> , or Lackland, was given him in derisive allusion to his loss of Normandy.
	1216	Henry III., son of John. <sup>1</sup>
	1274	Edward I., son of Henry III.
	1307	Edward II., son of Edward I. He was deposed by Parliament.
	1327	Edward III., son of Edward II. His eldest son, the <i>Black Prince</i> , died during his father's reign. <sup>2</sup>
	1377	Richard II., second son of Edward the Black Prince. He had no issue. He was deposed by Parliament.
V. The House of Lancaster, the Red Rose, 1399-1461.	1399	Henry IV., grandson of Edward III., by his third son John of Gaunt (corruption of Ghent, his birthplace), duke of Lancaster; hence the "House of Lancaster."
	1413	Henry V., son of Henry IV.
	1422	Henry VI., son of Henry V.
VI. The House of York, the White Rose, 1461-1485.	1461	Edward IV., great-great-grandson of Edward III. by his fourth son Edmund Langley, duke of York; hence the "House of York."
	1483	Edward V., son of Edward IV., supposed to have been murdered in the Tower by his uncle, Richard III.

<sup>1</sup> Before the accession of Henry III. Parliament made choice of any one of the king's sons whom they considered best fitted to rule. After that time they always appointed the king's eldest son; or, in case of his demise during the lifetime of his father, the eldest son of the eldest son.

<sup>2</sup> The Black Prince: the origin of this name is unknown, but it is generally supposed to have been derived from the color of his armor.

	1483	<p>Richard III., great-great-grandson of Edward III. by his fourth son Edmund Langley, duke of York.</p> <p>The red and the white rose were the badges of the Houses of Lancaster and York respectively during the civil war.</p>
<p>VII. The House of Tudor, 1485-1603.</p>	1485	<p>Henry VII., son of Margaret Beaufort, great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, son of Owen Tudor, who was a Welsh gentleman, married to Katharine, widow of Henry V. of the House of Lancaster. The accession of Henry VII. cemented the union of Wales with England; and revolts, previously frequent, were now ended, because the people felt that by the king's descent from the Tudors they were represented in the government. Henry VII. married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and thus the rival Houses of Lancaster and York were united.</p>
	1509	<p>Henry VIII., second son of Henry VII., came to the throne on the death of his elder brother Arthur, Prince of Wales. He married (1), 1509, Katharine of Aragon, widow of his brother Arthur, and aunt of the emperor Charles V. She was divorced, 1533, after the king's next marriage. (2), 1532, Anne Boleyn, maid of honor to Katharine; she was beheaded, 1536. (3), 1536, Jane Seymour, maid of honor to Anne Boleyn; she died, 1539. (4), 1540, Anne of Cleves; divorced six months after marriage. (5), 1540, Cath-</p>

		<p>erine Howard, beheaded, 1542. (6), 1543, Catherine Parr. She survived the king.</p> <p>1547 Edward VI., son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour.</p> <p>1553 Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. by Katharine of Aragon.</p> <p>1559 Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn.</p>
<p>VIII. The House of Stuart (first period), 1603-1649.</p>	<p>1603</p> <p>1625</p>	<p>James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, son of Mary, queen of Scots and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and great-grandson of James IV. of Scotland, who married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England. Uniting as he did the kingdoms of England and Scotland, he was the first sovereign who bore the title of "King of Great Britain." The Stuart family were descended from Walter Fitz Alan, lord of Oswestry, who, under David I. of Scotland, became, in 1124, High Steward of Scotland. From this official title the name Stuart was derived.</p> <p>Charles I., son of James I. ; beheaded, 1649.</p>
<p>IX. The Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660.</p>	<p>1649</p> <p>1653</p>	<p>After the execution of Charles I. Parliament declared England a Commonwealth, or free state. The House of Commons was nominally the supreme power, the House of Lords having been abolished as "useless and dangerous."</p> <p>Parliament was dissolved by force by Oliver Cromwell, who became <i>Lord Protector</i>. He died, 1658.</p>

	1658	Richard Cromwell, son of Oliver, became Protector at his father's death, but was compelled to abdicate in July, 1659. From that time until the restoration of Charles II., the government was virtually in the hands of the army.
The House of Stuart (second period), 1660-1688.	1660 1685	Charles II., son of Charles I. James II., second son of Charles I., fled to France, 1688.
X. The united Houses of Stuart and Nassau, 1689-1702.	1689	William III. and Mary. William, Prince of Orange (the title derived from a small principality near the Rhone), was grandson of Charles I., his mother, Mary, daughter of Charles I., having married William of Orange, grandson of William the Silent. William III. married his cousin Mary, daughter of James II. Thus he was both nephew and son-in-law of James II. They had no issue. The title of Nassau is derived from the castle of that name, now in ruins, on the river Lahn, Germany.
The House of Stuart (third period), 1702-1714.	1702	Anne, second daughter of James II., was the last of the Stuarts. She married Prince George of Denmark, and had seventeen children, all of whom died in childhood.
XI. The House of Hanover (race of Brunswick), 1714 to the present time.	1714	George I., Elector of Hanover, son of Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick, who married Sophia, daughter of Elizabeth, who was daughter of James I. of England; hence the race of Brunswick, or House of Hanover. (By the Act of Settlement,



		1701, the crown was to pass, after the death of Anne, to the Electress Sophia and her Protestant descendants.)
	1727	George II., son of George I.
	1769	George III., son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and grandson of George II.
	1820	George IV., eldest son of George III. He had no lawful issue.
	1830	William IV., second son of George III. He had no lawful issue.
	1837	Victoria, daughter of Edward, duke of Kent, third son of George III., and niece of George IV. and of William IV. It will be seen, by tracing her lineage, that Victoria is descended from both Cerdic the Saxon, A.D. 495, and William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066.
The Royal Family, 1840 to the present time.	1840	Alexandrina Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 1840. (The Prince Consort died, 1861.) In 1876 the queen was proclaimed Empress of India. Her title now is, "Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the colonies and dependencies thereof, in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, QUEEN, Defender of the Faith, and Empress of India."
	1840	<i>Issue.</i> — Victoria Adelaide, married the Crown Prince of Prussia.
	1841	Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, married the Princess Alexandra of Denmark.
	1843	Alice Maud, married the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt.

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| 1844 | Alfred Ernest, Duke of Edinburgh, married the Grand Duchess of Russia.   |
| 1846 | Helen Augusta, married the Prince of Sleswick-Holstein.                  |
| 1848 | Louisa Caroline, married the Marquis of Lorne, late governor of Canada.  |
| 1850 | Arthur William, Duke of Connaught, married the Princess of Prussia.      |
| 1853 | Leopold George, Duke of Albany, married the Princess of Waldeck-Pyrmont. |
| 1857 | Beatrice Maria, married the Prince of Battemberg.                        |

The Royal Household consists of about one thousand officers and servants. It has its own court of justice, in which are tried all cases arising within the Household. The queen's annual income is three hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds sterling, from which the expenses of the Royal Household are paid. The annual allowances granted to the Prince and Princess of Wales and the other members of the Royal Family amount to one hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds, making an aggregate of five hundred and forty-one thousand pounds, or about two million seven hundred thousand dollars.

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# A SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.



<p><b>I.</b> Prehistoric Period.</p>		<p>Britain once a part of the continent of Europe. The Early, or Rough, Stone Age. The Late, or Polished, Stone Age. The Bronze Age. Introduction of Iron.</p>
<p>Authorities on the Prehistoric Period.</p>		<p>Dawkins' Early Man in Britain. Evans' Bronze Implements. Guest's Lectures on the History of England. The Works of Tylor, Lubbock, and Lyell.</p> <hr/> <p>Interesting articles relating to the Pre-historic Period are :— The Ancient Cave Men of Devonshire, Chamber's Misc. Vol. V. ; Monuments of Unrecorded Ages, <i>ibid.</i> Vol. VIII. ; The Prehistoric Earth, by Prof. A. S. Packard, in Gately's World's Progress.</p>
<p><b>II.</b> Roman Britain, B.C. 55 and A.D. 43-410.</p>	<p>B.C. 55 A.D. 43 61 78-84</p>	<p><i>Cæsar lands in Britain.</i></p> <p>Claudius begins the conquest of Britain. Revolt of Boadicea.</p> <p><i>Complete conquest of Britain and establishment of the Roman power by Agricola.</i></p>

	306	Constantine is proclaimed emperor in Britain.
	401	The Roman legions are withdrawn from Britain.
	410	Rome is sacked by the Goths, and <i>the Emperor Honorius releases the Britons from their allegiance.</i>
Authorities on Roman Britain.		<p>Scarths' Roman Britain. (<i>The best short history.</i>)</p> <p>* Cæsar's Commentaries.</p> <p>* Tacitus' Agricola, etc.</p> <p>* Gildas' Works.</p> <p>Wright's Celt, Roman, and Saxon.</p> <p>Elton's Origins of English History.</p> <p>Smith's Dictionary of Geography (Britannicae Insulae).</p> <p>Pearson's England during the Early and Middle Ages, Vol. I.</p>
III. The Anglo-Saxon Period, 449-1066.	449	<i>The Saxons or English land in Britain.</i>
	520	Arthur defeats the Saxons at Badbury, Dorsetshire.
	597	<i>The coming of Augustine</i> , — conversion of the king of Kent.
	827	<b>Egbert</b> becomes king of all the Saxons or English south of the Thames, and overlord of all the English north of it to the Forth.
	871	<b>Alfred the Great.</b>
	878	<i>The Treaty of Wedmore.</i>
	960	Dunstan becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.

\* Contemporaneous or early history.

	1013?	<b>Sweyn</b> , king of Denmark, harries England and is acknowledged king.
	1017	Canute, the Dane, chosen king.
	1042	Restoration of the Saxon line under <b>Edward the Confessor</b> .
	1066	<b>Harold</b> , the last of the Saxon kings, reigns ten months (killed at the battle of Hastings).
Authorities on the Saxon or English Period.		<p>Grant Allen's Anglo-Saxon Britain. (<i>The best short history.</i>)</p> <p>Church's Beginning of the Middle Ages.</p> <p>Freeman's Norman Conquest, Vols. I. and II.</p> <p>Lappenberg's England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings.</p> <p>Green's Making of England.</p> <p>Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.</p> <p>Palgrave's History of the English Commonwealth.</p> <p>Pearson's History of England during the Early and Middle Ages, Vol. I.</p> <p>Pauli's Life of Alfred.</p> <p>* Asser's Life of Alfred.</p> <p>Taine's English Literature, Vol. I.</p> <p>* Bede's Ecclesiastical History.</p> <p>* The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.</p> <p>* Gildas' Works.</p> <p>Elton's Origin of English History.</p> <p>Kemble's Saxons in England.</p> <p>Stubbs' Constitutional History of England, Vol. I.</p>

\* Contemporaneous or early history.

IV. The Norman Period, 1066-1154.	1066 1066 1066  1066? 1067? 1069 1086 1086  1087 1093 1094 1100 1100 1102 1106  1118 1135 1136 1139 1153	<i>William the Conqueror lands at Pevensey (circ. Sept. 28).</i> Battle of Senlac, or Hastings ( <i>circ.</i> Oct. 14). <b>William</b> crowned at Westminster on Christmas Day. <i>William grants a charter to London.</i> <i>Begins building the Tower of London.</i> Harries the North. <i>Domesday Book completed.</i> <i>All the landholders in England swear allegiance to William at a great meeting held at Salisbury.</i> <b>William Rufus.</b> <i>Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.</i> <i>William's quarrel with Anselm.</i> <b>Henry I.</b> <i>Henry grants a charter.</i> <i>Robert of Belesme rebels.</i> Henry and Anselm come to terms with regard to investitures. Revolt of the Norman Baronage. <b>Stephen.</b> <i>Stephen grants a charter.</i> <i>Civil War.</i> <i>Treaty of Wallingford.</i>
Authorities on the Norman Period.		Freeman's Short History of the Norman Conquest, Johnson's Normans in Europe. ( <i>The two best small books on the subject.</i> ) Freeman's Norman Conquest. * The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. * Taylor's Translation of Wace's Roman de Rou. * William de Jumiègue.

\* Contemporaneous or early history.

		* Ordericus Vitalis.
		* Bruce's Bayeux Tapestry Elucidated, with plates.
<b>V.</b>	1154	<b>Henry II.</b>
The House of	1159	<i>The payment of scutage, or shield money.</i>
Anjou,	1164	<i>The Constitutions of Clarendon.</i>
1154-1399.	1164	<i>The king quarrels with Becket.</i>
	1166	The Assize of Clarendon.
	1169?	<i>Partial conquest of Ireland.</i>
	1170	<i>The murder of Becket.</i>
	1174	<i>Insurrection of the Barons.</i>
	1176-	
	1178	<i>Judicial and legal reforms.</i>
	1181	<i>The Assize of Arms.</i>
	1189	<i>The Great Assize, i.e., examination by a jury allowed in civil cases as a substitute for trial by battle.</i>
	1189	<b>Richard I.</b>
	1189	<i>The king grants charters to towns and sells offices to raise money to go to the third crusade.</i>
	1190	The king leaves England for the crusade, and does not return until 1194.
	1191	<i>First legal recognition of the Corporation of the City of London.</i>
	1192	The king taken prisoner by the duke of Austria.
	1193	Released on payment of a heavy ransom by England.
	1197	Richard builds Château Gaillard on the the Seine, above Rouen, to defend his Norman possessions.
	1199	<b>John.</b>

\* Contemporaneous or early history.

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1203	Murder of Arthur.
1204	<i>John loses Normandy and Anjou.</i>
1208	John refuses to receive Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, and the pope puts England under Interdict.
1213	John becomes the pope's vassal.
1215	<i>John grants the Great Charter, June 15.</i>
1216	<b>Henry III.</b>
1232	A long period of bad government begins.
1259	<i>The Provisions of Oxford.</i>
1260?	Henry begins to rebuild Westminster abbey.
1264	<i>Battle of Lewes.</i> Victory of Simon de Mont- fort, Earl of Leicester.
1265	<i>Rise of the House of Commons under Earl Simon.</i>
1265	Battle of Evesham; Earl Simon killed.
1267	Roger Bacon writes his <i>Opus Majus</i> .
1274	<b>Edward I.</b>
1282	<i>Conquest of Wales.</i>
1290	Expulsion of the Jews.
1295	<i>Final organization of Parliament</i> (barons, clergy and commons).
1296	<i>Edward conquers Scotland.</i>
1303	Execution of Wallace.
1306	Defeat of Robert Bruce.
1307	<b>Edward II.</b>
1314	Battle of Bannockburn.
1327	Edward II. deposed.
1327	<b>Edward III.</b>
1328	<i>Independence of Scotland recognized.</i>
1337	War with France and Scotland.
1339	<i>Beginning of the Hundred Years' War with France.</i>
1346	<i>Victory of Crecy.</i>
1347	<i>Capture of Calais.</i>
1349	<i>The Black Death.</i>



	1351	Statute of Laborers.
	1353	First statute of Præmunire.
	1356	<i>Victory of Poitiers.</i>
	1360	<i>Treaty of Bretigny.</i> England gives up all of France north of the Loire, but retains most of the country south of it.
	1377	<i>Wycliffe begins the Reformation</i> ,—Lollardism.
	1377	<b>Richard II.</b>
	1380	Langland writes <i>Piers the Ploughman</i> .
	1381	<i>Revolt of the peasants under Wat Tyler.</i>
	1388	Battle of Chevy Chase.
	1390?	<i>Chaucer writes the Canterbury Tales.</i>
	1399	Richard deposed.
Authorities on the House of Anjou.		<p>Stubbs' <i>Early Plantagenets</i>, Warburton's <i>Edward III.</i>, Pearson's <i>England in the Fourteenth Century.</i> (<i>The three best short histories relating to the period.</i>)</p> <p>Stubbs' <i>Constitutional History of England.</i></p> <p>* Florence of Worcester.</p> <p>* Roger of Hoveden.</p> <p>* Matthew Paris.</p> <p>Blaauw's <i>Barons' War.</i></p> <p>Stubbs' <i>Illustrative Documents.</i></p> <p>* Froissart's <i>Chronicles.</i></p> <p>Seebohm's <i>Essays (on the Black Death)</i>, <i>Fortnightly Review</i>, 1865.</p> <p>Taine's <i>English Literature.</i></p> <p>Church's <i>Life of Anselm.</i></p> <p>Wallon's <i>Richard II.</i></p> <p>Shakespeare's <i>John</i>, and <i>Richard II.</i> (Hudson's edition).</p>

\* Contemporaneous or early history.

<b>VI.</b> <b>The House of</b> <b>Lancaster (the</b> <b>Red Rose).</b> <b>1399-1461.</b>	1399 1400 1401 1403 1413 1414 1415 1422 1429 1431 1450 1451 1455 1460 1461 1461	<b>Henry IV.</b> Revolt of Owen Glendower. <i>Statute against heresy. William Sautre, the first martyr, burned for Lollardry.</i> <i>Revolt of the Percies. Battle of Shrewsbury.</i> <b>Henry V.</b> Meeting of disaffected Lollards. Severe measures against them. <i>Victory of Agincourt.</i> <b>Henry VI.</b> crowned king of England and France at Paris. Siege of Orleans. <i>Joan of Arc burned.</i> <i>Cade's insurrection.</i> <i>Loss of French possessions.</i> <i>Wars of the Roses.</i> First battle of St. Albans. Battle of Wakefield. Second battle of St. Albans. <i>Henry dethroned.</i>
<b>Authorities on</b> <b>the House of</b> <b>Lancaster.</b>		Gairdner's Houses of Lancaster and York. <i>(The best short history.)</i> Brougham's England under the House of Lancaster. * Gairdner's Edition of the Paston Letters. Reed's English History in Shakespeare. * Fabyan's Chronicle. * Stow's Annals, etc. Shakespeare's Henry IV., V., and VI. (Hudson's edition).

\* Contemporaneous or early history.

<b>VII.</b> The House of York (the White Rose), 1461-1485.	1461 1461 1471 1471  1477  1483  1483 1485 1485	<b>Edward IV.</b> Battle of Towton. Battles of Barnet and Tewksbury. Henry VI., the late king, dies, or is murdered, while a prisoner in the Tower. <i>Caxton sets up a printing-press in the precincts  of Westminster abbey and prints the first  book in England.</i> <b>Edward V.</b> (reigns two months) murdered in the Tower by the duke of Gloucester, the Protector (afterwards Richard III.). <b>Richard III.</b> Henry, earl of Richmond, lands at Milford Haven (Aug. 7). <i>Battle of Bosworth Field, death of Richard</i> (Aug. 22).
Authorities on the House of York.		See authorities on House of Lancaster. Gairdner's Richard III. Sir Thomas More's Richard III. Shakespeare's Richard III. (Hudson's edi- tion). Sir Thomas More's Edward V.
<b>VIII.</b> The House of Tudor, union of the White and the Red Rose, 1485-1603.	1485 1487 1496  1497 1499 1509 1512 1513 1513 1516 1519	<b>Henry VII.</b> Synnell, the Pretender, claims the crown. Warbeck, the second Pretender, claims the crown. <i>Sebastian Cabot lands in America.</i> Colet and Erasmus at Oxford. <b>Henry VIII.</b> Colet founds St. Paul's School. Battle of the Spurs and of Flodden. <i>Wolsey becomes chief minister.</i> Sir Thomas More writes "Utopia." Field of the Cloth of Gold.

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| 1525  | Tyndale translates the Bible.   |
| 1527  | <i>Henry resolves on a divorce.</i>   |
| 1529  | <i>Fall of Wolsey.</i>  |
| 1531  | <i>Henry acknowledged the Supreme Head of the "Church of England."</i>  |
| 1532  | <i>Henry privately marries Anne Boleyn.</i>   |
| 1533  | <i>Divorced from Katharine.</i>   |
| 1534  | <i>Act of Supremacy.</i>  |
| 1535  | Thomas Cromwell, vicar-general.    Execution of More.   |
| 1536? | The pope excommunicates Henry.  |
| 1536  | <i>Henry publishes the English Bible.</i>   |
| 1536  | <i>Dissolution of the lesser monasteries.</i>   |
| 1539  | <i>The Law of the Six Articles.</i>   |
| 1539  | <i>Suppression of the greater abbeys.</i>   |
| 1542  | <i>The Tudor conquest of Ireland nearly completed.</i>  |
| 1543  | Execution of Cromwell.  |
| 1547  | <b>Edward VI.</b>   |
| 1547  | Battle of Pinkie.   |
| 1548  | <i>Publication of the Book of Common Prayer. Protestantism established. Act of Uniformity.</i>  |
| 1552  | Suppression of chantries.   |
| 1552  | <i>Grammar schools and Hospitals founded.</i>   |
| 1553  | <b>Mary.</b>  |
| 1553  | Lady Jane Grey executed.  |
| 1554  | <i>Mary repeals the laws against the Roman Catholics (but the monastic lands remain in the hands of their then owners). Suppresses the Book of Common Prayer.</i> |
| 1555  | <i>Severe persecution of Protestants.</i>   |
| 1558  | <i>England loses Calais.</i>  |
| 1559  | <b>Elizabeth.</b>   |
| 1559  | <i>Restores royal supremacy and the Book of Common Prayer.</i>  |

	1562	<i>First penal statute against Catholics.</i>
	1562	First poor law.
	1563	Hawkins begins the slave trade with Africa.
	1563	<i>The Thirty-Nine Articles imposed on the clergy.</i>
	1577	<i>Drake circumnavigates the globe.</i>
	1586	<i>Shakespeare plays at the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres in London.</i>
	1587	<i>Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.</i>
	1588	<i>Defeat of the Armada.</i>
	1590	Spenser publishes the Faery Queen.
	1597	Bacon publishes his Essays.
	1603	<i>Completion of the Conquest of Ireland.</i>
Authorities on the House of Tudor.		<p>Creighton's Elizabeth, Seebohm's Protestant Revolution. (<i>The two best short histories.</i>)</p> <p>Hallam's Constitutional History.</p> <p>* Holinshed's Chronicle to 1577.</p> <p>Lingard's England.</p> <p>Froude's Short Studies.</p> <p>Froude's England.</p> <p>Shakespeare's Henry VIII. (Hudson's edition).</p> <p>Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.</p> <p>Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.</p> <p>Dixon's Church of England.</p> <p>Macaulay's Essay on Lord Burleigh.</p>
IX. The House of Stuart, first period. 1603-1649.	1603	<b>James I.</b> (King of England and Scotland.)
	1604	<i>Hampton Court Conference.</i>
	1604	James persecutes the Puritans.
	1605	<i>The Gunpowder Plot.</i>
	1615	Sale of Peerages.
	1617	<i>Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.</i>

\* Contemporaneous history.

1620	Lord Bacon publishes his philosophy ( <i>Novum Organum</i> ).
1620	<i>Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England.</i>
1620	Impeachment of Lord Bacon.
1621	<i>James tears up the protest of the Commons.</i>
1622	<i>The first newspaper published in England, "The Weekley Neues."</i>
1625	<b>Charles I.</b>
1628	<i>The Petition of Right.</i>
1631	Wentworth (Lord Strafford) Lord Deputy in Ireland.
1633	Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.
1637	<i>Hampden refuses to pay ship-money.</i>
1637?	Strafford's policy of "Thorough."
1637?	Laud persecutes the Puritans.
1640	<i>The Long Parliament meets.</i>
1641	Execution of Strafford.
1641	<i>The Grand Remonstrance</i> (November).
1642	<i>The king attempts to seize the five members.</i>
1642	<i>Beginning of the civil war. Battle of Edgehill</i> (Oct. 23).
1644	<i>Battle of Marston Moor.</i>
1645	Cromwell reorganizes the Parliamentary army (the "new model").
1645	<i>Battle of Naseby.</i>
1646	<i>Charles surrenders to the Scots.</i>
1647	<i>The Scots give up Charles to the English.</i>
1648	<i>Pride's Purge.</i>
1649	<i>Execution of Charles.</i>

Authorities for  
the House of  
Stuart, first  
period.

Gardiner's Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution. (*The best short history.*)  
Gardiner's History of James I.  
Ranke's History of England in the Seventeenth Century.

		<p>* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.          * May's History of the Long Parliament.          Gardiner's England under Charles I.          Goldwin's Smith's English Statesman.          Forster's Sir John Eliot.          Macaulay's Essays on Bacon, Hampden,          and Hallam.          Hume's England.</p>
X. Commonwealth and Protector- ate, 1649-1660.	<p>1649 1649 1650 1651 1652 1653 1654 1654 1656 1657  1658 1659 1659 1660</p>	<p><i>England proclaims itself a Commonwealth.</i>  <i>The House of Lords abolished.</i>          Battle of Dunbar.  <i>Battle of Worcester. Flight of Charles II.</i>          War with the Dutch.  <i>Cromwell expels Parliament by force.</i>  <i>"The Instrument of Government."</i>  <b>Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector.</b>          War with Spain.          Cromwell, at the request of the army, de-          clines the crown (the "Humble Petition          and Advice").  <b>Richard Cromwell Protector.</b>  <i>Richard compelled to abdicate (July).</i>          The army rules.  <i>The Convention Parliament invites Charles</i>  <i>II. to return (April 25).</i></p>
Authorities on the Common- wealth and Protectorate.		<p>Guizot's English Revolution.          Guizot's Oliver Cromwell.          * Life of Col. Hutchinson (Bohn).          Bisset's History of the Commonwealth.          Carlyle's Life and Letters of Cromwell, and          Hero Worship.</p>

\* Contemporaneous history.

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House of Stuart, second period, 1660-1688.	1660	<b>Charles II.</b>
	1661	Act of Uniformity re-enacted.
	1662	<i>The Puritan clergy driven out.</i>
	1662	The Royal Society established.
	1664	The Conventicle Act. John Bunyan and others imprisoned.
	1664	The Dutch War.
	1665	The Five Mile Act.
	1665	<i>The Plague in London.</i>
	1666	<i>The Great Fire in London.</i>
	1667	Milton writes <i>Paradise Lost</i> .
	1670	<i>Secret Treaty of Dover.</i>
	1670	Bunyan writes the <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> .
	1671	<i>The king robs the exchequer.</i>
	1673	The Test Act.
	1678	<i>Titus Oates invents the so-called Popish Plot.</i>
	1679	<i>Habeas Corpus Act passed.</i>
	1682	<i>The Rye-House Plot.</i>
	1683	<i>Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney executed.</i>
	1685	<b>James II.</b>
	1685	<i>Insurrection of Monmouth.</i>
	1685	<i>Battle of Sedgemoor.</i>
	1685	<i>The Bloody Assizes.</i>
	1687	<i>Sir Isaac Newton publishes the Principia, demonstrating the law of Gravitation.</i>
	1687	Expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.
	1687	<i>Declaration of Indulgence.</i>
	1688	Clergy refuse to read the Declaration of Indulgence.
	1688	<i>Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops; their acquittal.</i>
	1688	William of Orange invited to England.
	1688	Flight of James.
	1688	The Interregnum (Dec. 23, 1688, to Feb. 13, 1689).
	1689	<i>The Declaration of Rights.</i>



United Houses of Nassau and Stuart, 1689-1702.	1689 1689 1689 1689 1689 1690 1692 1692 1693 1694 1694 1694 1695 1697 1701	<b>William and Mary.</b> Siege of Londonderry. <i>Mutiny Bill.</i> <i>Toleration Bill.</i> <i>The Bill of Rights.</i> The Nonjurors. <i>The Battle of the Boyne. — James II. defeated.</i> Massacre of Glencoe. Battle of La Hogue, <i>Beginning of the National Debt.</i> <i>The Bank of England established.</i> <i>Death of the Queen.</i> <i>Triennial Act passed.</i> <i>The Press made free.</i> <i>Peace of Ryswick.</i> <i>Act of Settlement passed.</i>
House of Stuart revived, 1702-1714.	1702 1703  1704 1706 1707  1711 1712 1713	<b>Anne, the last Stuart sovereign.</b> First Daily Newspaper, "The London Courant" (Addison, Swift, Defoe, Pope). <i>Battle of Blenheim.</i> Battle of Ramillies. <i>Act of Union with Scotland (the Kingdom of Great Britain).</i> Addison publishes the "Spectator." Dismissal of Marlborough. <i>Treaty of Utrecht.</i>
Authorities on the House of Stuart, second period.		Hale's Fall of the Stuarts, Morris' Age of Anne. ( <i>The two best short histories relating to the period.</i> ) * Evelyn's Diary, 1623-1659. * Pepys' Diary, 1659-1669.

\* Contemporaneous history.

		<p>Macaulay's England.  Stanhope's History of England.  Macaulay's Essay on Mackintosh's History.  Macaulay's Essays on the War of the Spanish Succession, on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration, and on Milton.  Taine's History of English Literature.  * Burnet's History of His Own Times.  Guizot's History of Civilization, Chap. XIII.</p>
<p>XI.  House of  Hanover, 1714  to the present  time.</p>	<p>1714  1715  1720  1727  1727  1738  1739  1745  1746  1748  1751    1755  1757  1759    1760  1765  1765  1766  1768  1769</p>	<p><b>George I.</b>  <i>The Pretender in Scotland.</i>  <i>The South Sea Company.</i>  War with Austria and Spain.  <b>George II.</b>  <i>Rise of the Methodists under John Wesley.</i>  Hogarth and Fielding.  <i>The Young Pretender.</i>  Battle of Culloden.  Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.  Introduction of the New Style. (The year now begins on Jan. 1 instead of March 25.)  Seven Years' War with France.  Clive wins the victory of Plassey, India.  Battle of Quebec. — Death of Wolfe. — England gains Canada.  <b>George III.</b>  <i>Stamp Act passed.</i>  <i>Watt invents the Steam Engine.</i>  Repeal of the Stamp Act.  Arkwright invents his Spinning Machine.  Letters of Junius.</p>

\* Contemporaneous history.

1775	<i>Beginning of the American Revolution. —</i>
1776	<i>Independence declared July 4.</i>
1781	Defeat of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.
1783	<i>Recognition of the Independence of the United States.</i>
1786	Trial of Warren Hastings.
1793	War with France.
1800	<i>Act of Union with Ireland.</i>
1805	<i>Battle of Trafalgar.</i>
1807	Abolition of the Slave Trade.
1809	The Peninsula War.
1811	<i>Luddite Riots.</i>
1811	The king becomes insane, and the Prince of Wales is made Regent.
1812	<i>Second War with America.</i>
1815	<i>Battle of Waterloo (Sunday, June 18).</i>
1819	First Atlantic Steamship, The Savannah.
1820	<b>George IV.</b>
1829	<i>Passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill.</i>
1830	<b>William IV.</b>
1830	<i>First Railway (the Liverpool and Manchester) opened in England.</i>
1833	<i>Emancipation of Slaves in the British Colonies.</i>
1833	East India Trade thrown open.
1837	<b>Victoria.</b>
1839	The Opium War.
1840	Penny Postage introduced.
1846	<i>Famine in Ireland. Repeal of the Corn Laws.</i>
1848	<i>The Chartists.</i>
1854	<i>War with Russia.</i>
1855	<i>Capture of Sebastopol.</i>
1855	Abolition of the Newspaper Tax. — <i>Rise of Cheap Newspapers.</i>
1858	<i>The Atlantic Cable laid.</i>
1861	Death of Prince Albert.

	1861	The Trent affair.
	1862	The Escape of the Alabama.
	1867	Reform Bill extending the franchise.
	1868	Compulsory Church Rates abolished.
	1869	<i>Disestablishment of the Irish branch of the Church of England.</i>
	1870	<i>Irish Land Bill.</i>
	1870	Foundation of the Government ("Board") Schools.
	1871	Abolition of Religious tests in the Universities.
	1872	<i>The Geneva Conference awards £3,500,000 to the United States for damages caused by the Alabama.</i>
	1876	The Queen made Empress of India.
	1879	<i>Formation of the Irish Land League.</i>
	1881	<i>The Second Irish Land Bill.</i>
	1882	Crimes Act passed, directed against Land League in Ireland.
	1884	Reform of Elections (Corrupt Practices Bill).
	1884	<i>Passage of the Franchise Bill extending the borough franchise to the counties.</i>
	1885	Resignation of the Gladstone Ministry.
	1885	The Marquis of Salisbury accepts the office of Prime Minister.
	1885	<i>Over 1,300,000 new voters admitted in England under the Franchise Bill.</i>
Authorities on the House of Hanover.		<p>Ludlow's American Revolution (one of the best short histories).</p> <p>Bancroft's History of the United States.</p> <p>Macaulay's Essays on Warren Hastings, Clive, Pitt, Madam D'Arblay, Walpole, Chatham, and Johnson.</p> <p>Lecky's History of the 18th Century.</p> <p>Green's Causes of the American Revolution.</p>

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	* Walpole's Memoirs and Letters. McCarthy's History of Our Own Times. McCarthy's England under Gladstone. Thackeray's Four Georges. Masson's England under George III. May's Constitutional History. Stanhope's History of England. Trevelyan's Life of Fox. Stephenson's Life of James Watt. Martineau's History of England. Wharton's Wits and Beaux of Society. Carlyle's Essay on Johnson. Taine's English Literature.
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\* Contemporaneous history.

NOTE. For fuller information in regard to authorities, see Prof. Allen's excellent little work, *The Reader's Guide to English History*. Where a critical estimate of the writer is desired, consult Prof. Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature*, and Mullinger's *Authorities*. The best general histories of England (aside from Hume, Lingard Macaulay, and Stanhope) are Green's *Short History of the English People*, Bright's *English History*, and the *Student's Hume*. For young people nothing equals Gardiner's *History of England for Young Folks*, and Guest's *Lectures on English History*. The *Constitutional History of England* (see Stubbs, Hallam, Creasy, and May) is ably presented in a single volume by Taswell-Langmead, and in more condensed form by Ransome.

Valuable works of reference are: Knight's *Pictorial History of England*; Tymms' *Topography of England*; Bohn's *Cyclopedia of Political Knowledge*; The *Dictionary of English History* (Low & Pulling); Johnston's *Historical Maps*; Whitaker's *Almanack*; Bevan's *Statistical Atlas of England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

On modern England and English life, see Irving's *Bracebridge Hall*, and *Sketch Book*; Emerson's *English Traits*; Colman's *European Life and Manners*; Hawthorne's *Our Old Home*, and *Note Books*; Howitt's *Visits to Remarkable Places*, and *Rural Life*;

Taine's Notes on England; Nadal's London Society; Hoppin's Old England; Higginson's English Statesmen; R. G. White's England Without and Within; Escott's England; Laugel's L'Angleterre; Daryl's La Vie Publique en Angleterre; Max O'Rell's John Bull et son Ile; Society in London, by a Foreign Resident (Harper).

# THE LEADING FACTS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.



## I.

“ This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war ;  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands ;  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.”

SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II.*



## PREHISTORIC BRITAIN.

### A GLANCE AT THE FOUNDATIONS.

THE island of Great Britain, as abundant geological evidence proves, was originally part of the continent of Europe. The chalk cliffs of Dover are simply a continuation of the chalk of Calais, and in dredging the shallow waters of the channel, never more than thirty fathoms deep, the same fossil remains of animals are brought up that are found buried in the soil of England and of France.

As in the life of a child there is an important period when he cannot record his thoughts, cannot even express them, but when he is, none the less, thinking, learning, and unconsciously shaping his character for the future, so there is a similar period of growth in the life of the human race before written history begins.

Prehistoric man in Britain probably took up his abode there before it was severed from the mainland. From the extensive and careful researches made by archæologists, we have reason to believe that his condition was that of the lowest savage. Raised but one degree of intelligence above the wild beasts around him, like them he dwelt in the caves of Devonshire or burrowed in the hills of Kent, or, somewhat further advanced, built for himself a hut of bark in the primeval forests of the north.

He lived by hunting and fishing. His tools and weapons were made of pieces of flint, chipped to an edge; his clothing was the furry hide of some creature he had killed. His religion was the terror inspired by the great forces and convulsions of nature and by the dangers to which he was constantly exposed.

The grassy barrows scattered throughout England are the burial-mounds of those who fell in the incen-



sant battles of hostile tribes; while the rude boulder-tombs, such as the well-known "Kit's Coty-house," near Maidstone in Kent, show the regard that was paid to the chiefs who led their fierce hand-to-hand contests.

In a later stage of progress prehistoric man had learned to smooth and polish his flint implements; to shape clay into useful vessels, and to bake them in the fire; to weave coarse cloth; and to herd and keep cattle. The epochs during which flint implements were used are known as the early and late Stone Ages, as for similar reasons subsequent epochs are called the Age of Bronze and the Age of Iron.

There are grounds for supposing that it was during this late Stone Period that England assumed the geographical form which it has to-day. Recent excavations seem to show that the men of those times were small in stature; they are, perhaps, best represented now by the people of southern Wales.

We have, at present, no sufficient data for determining with accuracy how long ago the age that we have been describing came to a close; but we know that the Stone Races must have been contemporary with the mammoth, the Irish elk, and other animals long extinct, since they have left incised drawings

of these creatures, on bones and tusks, of which a large and most interesting collection may be seen in the British Museum.

The use of bronze, which practically marks the final stage of the prehistoric period, would appear to have been introduced by the invasion of a superior race from the continent, who had discovered how to melt and mingle copper and tin, which they cast into spear-heads, axes and other implements.

These invaders seem to have driven back the native British tribes, and to have conquered the island by dint of their greater strength and their better weapons; as they, in turn, were afterwards driven back and conquered by the Roman legions who came armed with swords of steel.

The Bronze Men, as they have been called, were probably an offshoot of the large-limbed, fair-haired Celts of Gaul. They had ceased to be a purely nomadic race, and were in advance of what the Stone Men had acquired. They lived in settlements, built roofed houses of wattle-work, and practised systematic tillage of the soil. They all spoke the same language, so that, as a recent writer says,

NOTE. — Iron had come into use in Britain some little time before the Roman Conquest, but the difficulty of working it probably prevented it from being generally employed for either tools or weapons. Cæsar says the Britons had iron rings for money.

one might have been understood then had he asked for bread and cheese in Celtic, anywhere from the borders of Scotland to the southern boundary of France.

Rude as these prehistoric people seemed to Cæsar, as he met them in battle array, clad in skins, with their faces stained with the deep-blue dye of the woad plant, yet they proved not unworthy foemen even against his veteran troops. They were barbarians and nothing more, yet it is well to bear in mind that all the progress that civilization has made was built on the foundation which they slowly and painfully laid during unknown centuries of toil and strife; for to them we owe the taming of the dog and of other domestic animals, the first working of metals, and the beginnings of agriculture and of art.

They, too, held some dim faith in an overruling power and in a life beyond the grave, since they offered human sacrifices to the one, and buried the warrior's spear with him that he might be provided for the other. Their Druid priests, who gathered the sacred mistletoe from the branches of the oaks under which they worshiped, acted also as judges and as teachers.

Cæsar tells us that "they did much inquire and hand down to the youth concerning the stars and

their motions, concerning the magnitude of the earth, concerning the nature of things and the might and the power of the immortal gods.”

They did more, for they not only transmitted their beliefs and hopes from generation to generation, but they gave them architectural form and permanence in the massive columns of hewn stone which they raised in that temple, open to the sky, still to be seen on Salisbury plain, on one of whose fallen blocks Carlyle and Emerson — those Druids of our own time — sat, and discussed the same great questions, when they made their pilgrimage to Stonehenge forty years ago.

## II.

“Father Neptune one day to dame Freedom did say,  
‘If ever I lived upon dry land,  
The spot I should hit on would be little Britain.’  
Says Freedom, ‘Why that’s my own island.’  
O, ’tis a snug little island,  
A right little, tight little island!  
Search the world round, none can be found  
So happy as this little island.”

T. DIBDIN.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND IN RELATION TO ITS  
HISTORY.

As material surroundings strongly influence individual life, so the physical features — situation and climate — of a country have a marked influence on its history.

The insular form of Great Britain gave it a certain advantage over the continent during the age when the northern tribes were plundering Rome and devastating the countries of southern Europe. As their invasions of England could only be by sea, they were necessarily on a comparatively small scale. They could not at once overrun the whole land, as

they did in France, and hence the strife was long maintained by hope of successful resistance; and thus courage and the virtues that depend on courage were kept alive and transmitted.

The same fact unquestionably did much toward developing the spirit of adventure and the commercial enterprise which have made England the greatest colonizing nation of the world, and have extended her empire to every part of the habitable globe.

At the time of the threatened attack by the Spanish Armada, when the tempest had dispersed the enemy's fleet and wrecked many of its vessels, leaving only a few to creep back, crippled and disheartened, to the ports whence they had so proudly sailed, Elizabeth fully recognized the value of the "ocean-wall" to her dominions.

So Madame de Remusat, speaking of Napoleon's intended expedition, which was postponed and ultimately abandoned on account of a sudden and long-continued storm, says "a few leagues of sea saved England from being forced to engage in a war, which, if it had not entirely trodden civilization under foot, would have certainly crippled it for a whole generation." Finally, to quote the words of Professor Goldwin Smith, "the English Channel, by exempting England from keeping up a large

standing army, has preserved her from military despotism, and enabled her to move steadily forward in the path of political progress.”

With regard to the climate of England,—its insular character, geographical position and, especially, its exposure to the warm currents of the Gulf-stream, give it a mild temperature particularly favorable to the full and healthy development of both animal and vegetable life. Nowhere is found greater vigor or greater longevity. Charles II. said that he was convinced that there was not a country in the world where one could spend so much time out of doors comfortably as in England; and he might have added that the people appreciate this fact and habitually avail themselves of it.

From an industrial and historical point of view the country falls into two divisions. If a line be drawn from Whitby, on the north-east coast, to Leicester, in the midlands, and thence to Exmouth, on the south-west coast, on the upper or north-west side of that line will lie all the coal and nearly all the mineral wealth and manufacturing industry of England; and also all the large cities except London; while on the lower or south-east side of the line will be the comparatively level surface which furnishes the rich agricultural lands and most of the fine old cathedral towns with their historic associations;

in a word, the England of the past, as contrasted with modern and democratic England.

Lastly, it is worthy of remark that many names of places throughout England are directly connected with its physical geography, and nearly all with its history, on which they often throw important light. Thus Chester, Worcester and, in general, names ending in 'chester' or 'cester' — as Dorchester, Leicester and the like, mark the period of Roman occupation, and indicate that they were once walled towns and military stations. Places whose names end in 'by,' as Derby, Grimsby, Rugby, — which, with scarce an exception, are north of London, — are of Danish origin, and in a majority of cases date back to the time when Alfred made the treaty of Wedmore, near the close of the ninth century, by which the Danes agreed to confine themselves to the northern half of the country. Only a few names are of Norman origin, as Richmond and Beaumont, and they generally show us where the Normans built a castle or an abbey, or had conquered a district in Wales. Nearly all the local names are of Saxon or Celtic origin, and have remained unchanged since the landing of Hengist and Horsa. Many of the Welsh names carry us back to the Bronze and Stone Ages, as do nearly all the names of rivers, as Avon, *i.e.*, "The Water,"



for example, so frequently repeated in England; and however uncouth their barbarous accumulation of consonants may be, the prehistoric man could doubtless pronounce Llanfaelrhys or Llangwenllwyfo as readily and cheerfully as one of the aborigines of New England could tell the pilgrim fathers where to look for Quononchontaug or Woonasquatucket.

## III.

“Force and Right rule the world: Force, till Right is ready.”

JOUBERT.



ROMAN BRITAIN: B.C. 55 AND A.D. 43-410.

**A CIVILIZATION WHICH DID NOT CIVILIZE.**

OUR first account of Britain comes from the pen of Julius Cæsar. He had vanquished the tribes of Gaul and, late in the summer of 55 B.C., had reached that part of the coast where Boulogne is now situated, opposite which one may see on a clear day the gleaming chalk-cliffs of Dover so vividly described in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. While encamped on the shore he “resolved,” he says, “to pass over into Britain, having had trustworthy information that in all his wars with the Gauls, the enemies of the commonwealth had constantly received help from thence.”

Embarking, with a force of between eight thousand and ten thousand men, in eighty small vessels, he crossed the channel and landed not far from Dover, where he overcame the Britons, who made a desperate resistance. After a stay of a few weeks, dur-

ing which time he did not leave the coast, he returned to Gaul. The next year, a little earlier in the season, he made a second invasion with a much larger force, and penetrated the country to a short distance north of the Thames. Before the September gales set in he re-embarked for the continent, never to return. The total results of his two expeditions were a number of captives carried, as hostages, to Rome, and some vague promises of tribute which were never fulfilled. Tacitus remarks, "He discovered the country, but did not conquer it." For nearly a hundred years no second attempt was made, but, as the same historian informs us, "there was a long oblivion of Britain." In A.D. 43 Plautius established the Latin power in the west and midlands, overcoming Caractacus after nine years' fighting and gaining possession meantime of a little Celtic settlement on the Thames, consisting of a few miserable huts and a row of entrenched cattle-pens, called in the British tongue *Llyn-din*, or the Fort on the Lake, which, pronounced with difficulty by Roman lips, became the name which the world now knows wherever ships sail, trade reaches, or history is read—London.

Twenty years later, Boadicea, "the Cleopatra of the North," maddened by the insults and outrages of the brutal soldiery of Nero, headed a revolt which

for a time threatened to restore the country to the Britons; but in a final battle, fought on ground within sight of where St. Paul's cathedral now stands, the Roman general gained a complete victory, and Boadicea, like the Egyptian queen, took her own life rather than fall into the hands of her conqueror. She died, let us trust, as the poet has represented, animated by the prophecy of the Druid priest, that

“Rome shall perish — write that word  
In the blood that she has spilt; —  
Perish, hopeless and abhorred,  
Deep in ruin, as in guilt.”

From this date the Roman power went on advancing, until under Hadrian and Constantine the whole of England was subdued. During the three and a half centuries which measure this period, the entire surface of the country underwent a great change. Forests were cleared, marshes drained, waste lands reclaimed, rivers banked in and bridged, and the soil made so productive that Britain became known in Rome as the most important grain-producing and grain-exporting province in the empire.

Where the Britons had had a humble village enclosed by a ditch, with felled trees to protect it, there rose walled cities, like Chester and Colchester,

Lincoln and London, with some three-score more, all acknowledging York as their capital; for there, in the imperial palace, Constantine was crowned, and there, defended by ramparts and forts, were temples, baths and a forum, which might recall those on the banks of the Tiber.

The province was divided into five districts, intersected with a magnificent system of paved and macadamized roads, running in direct lines from city to city, and having London as a common centre. On the north, England was shielded against the incursions of barbarians from Scotland, by two massive walls of solid masonry, strengthened by earthworks, which extended across the country for eighty miles from the shore of the North to that of the Irish Sea. These walls were further defended by castles built at regular intervals of one mile and constantly garrisoned, while at every fourth mile was a fort, covering an area of several acres and occupied by a large body of troops. So much still remains of these cities, walls and fortresses that, as a recent writer has said, "outside of England no such monuments exist of the power and military genius of Rome."<sup>1</sup>

Yet the whole fabric was as hollow and as false as it was splendid. Civilization, like truth, cannot be forced on minds unwilling or unable to receive it—

<sup>1</sup> Scarth, Roman Britain.

least of all can it be forced by the sword's point, and the taskmaster's lash.

In order to render his victories secure on the continent, Cæsar had not hesitated to butcher thousands of prisoners of war, and to cut off the right hands of whole populations to prevent their rising in revolt. The policy pursued in Britain, though very different, was equally heartless and equally fatal. The mass of the inhabitants were virtually slaves. Their work was in the brick-fields, the quarries, the mines, or in the ploughed land and the forest. Their homes were wretched cabins, chinked in with mud, thatched with straw, and built on the estates of masters who paid no wages, who lived in stately villas, adorned with tessellated pavements and frescoed walls, warmed in winter like our modern houses, with currents of heated air, and opening in summer on terraces ornamented with vases and statuary, and on gardens of fruits and flowers.

Such was the condition of the serfs, while those who were nominally free were hardly better off, since all that they earned was swallowed up in taxes and tribute. "One heard nothing," says a writer of that time,<sup>1</sup> speaking of the days when revenue was collected, "but the sound of flogging and all kinds of

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius, quoted in Elton's *Origins of English History*, and compare the speech of Galgacus in Tacitus.

torture. The son was compelled to inform against his father, and the wife against her husband; all other means failing, men were forced to give evidence against themselves, and were assessed according to the confession which they made to escape torment." This vast system of organized oppression, which, like all systems of oppression was "not so much an institution as a destitution," lasted until the whirligig of time brought its revenge, and Rome, which had crushed so many nations of barbarians, was, in her turn, threatened with like fate by hordes of barbarians stronger than herself. When that danger was imminent, she recalled her legions from Britain, and her colonists there soon followed. In the year 409, we find this brief but expressive entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: "After this the Romans never ruled in Britain." And again, a few years later, this entry occurs: "418, this year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth so that no one since has been able to find them, and some they carried with them to Gaul."

In the course of the next three generations all that Roman civilization had accomplished in the island had so completely faded out and disappeared, that except a few words, like "port" and "street,"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Via strata" and "portus."

which have come down to us, nothing was left but the material shell, the forts, bastions, walls, arches, gateways, altars, and tombs, which are still to be seen throughout the land. The rest, if any there be, is so intangible and uncertain that it is only a subject for historians and antiquarians to wrangle over,<sup>1</sup> and were it not for the stubborn evidence of piles of stone, and ivy-covered ruins, like those of Pevensey, Chester, and York, one might well doubt whether the time had ever really been when the Cæsars held England in their relentless grasp.

<sup>1</sup> Scarth, Pearson, Guest, Elton, and Coote believe that Roman civilization had a permanent influence; while Lappenburg, Stubbs, Freeman, Green, Wright, and Gardiner deny it.



## IV.

“The happy ages of history are never the productive ones.”

HEGEL.



THE COMING OF THE SAXONS OR ENGLISH, A.D. 449.

THE BATTLES OF THE TRIBES.

THE AGE OF CONFLICT.—LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF  
ENGLAND, 449–1066.

THREE hundred and fifty years of Roman “law and order” had so completely tamed the fiery aborigines of the island, that when the legions abandoned it, the complaint of Gildas, “the British Jeremiah,” as Gibbon calls him, may have been literally true, when he declared that the Britons were no longer brave in war or faithful in peace. Certain it is that they were unable to protect themselves against the incursions of the Picts on the north, to whom the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus had ceased to be formidable obstacles when the garrisons had left the forts vacant.

In 446 the chief men of the country joined in a piteous and pusillanimous letter begging help from Rome, and addressed as follows: “To Ætius, consul

for the third time—the groans of the Britons.” Moved by these groans, the consul sent a force which drove back the wild tribes from the north; but it was a last effort, and from that date the province was left to shift for itself as best it might.

The method finally adopted by the Britons was to invite a band of Saxon pirates to help them repel the invaders,—thus “fighting fire with fire.” The monk Gildas records their arrival in characteristic terms, saying that “in 449 a multitude of whelps came from the lair of the barbaric lioness, in three *keels*, as they call them.” We get a good picture of what they were like from the exultant song of their countryman Beowulf, who describes with pride the dragon-prowed ships, filled with sea-robbers, armed with rough-handled spears and swords of bronze, coming from the peninsula of Jutland to the shining coasts of Britain.

These three “keels,” under the command of the chieftains Hengist and Horsa, were destined to grow into a kingdom. Settling at first, according to agreement, in the island of Thanet, near the mouth of the Thames, they easily fulfilled their contract to free the country from the ravages of the Picts, and quite as easily found a pretext afterward for seizing the fairest portion of Kent for themselves and for their kinsmen and adherents who came, vulture-like,

in ever-increasing multitudes. Year by year they extended their conquests. Scorning to take possession of what Rome had left, they burnt the villas, drove out or killed the serfs, and appropriated the land to their own use. Later, they attacked even the walled towns, with what result we may learn from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which tersely says, that “in 490 Ella and Cissa besieged Anderida” (the modern Pevensey) “and put to death all who inhabited it, so that not a single Briton remained alive in it.”

Thirty years after, they received their first check at Badbury in Dorsetshire, from that famous Arthur, the legend of whose deeds has come down to us in the pages of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and is retold in Tennyson’s “Idylls of the King.” He met them in their march of insolent triumph, and with his sword “Excalibar” and his staunch Welsh spearsmen, proved to them at least that he was a man and no myth—able “to break the heathen and uphold the Christ.” But though temporarily brought to a stand, the heathen were not to be either expelled or exterminated; on the contrary, they had come to stay, and at last the Britons were forced to take refuge among the hills of Wales, where they continued to abide, unconquered and unconquerable by force alone. In the light of these events, it is inter-

esting to see that that ancient stock never lost its love of liberty, and that more than eleven centuries later, Roger Williams, Thomas Jefferson, and several of the fifty-five signers of The Declaration of American Independence were either of Welsh birth or of direct Welsh descent.

The next eighty years—until the coming of Augustine—is a dreary period of constant bloodshed. Out of their very barbarism, however, a regenerating influence was to arise. In their greed for gain, some of the Saxons did not hesitate to sell their own children into bondage. A number of these slaves, exposed in the Roman forum, attracted the attention, as he was passing, of a monk named Gregory. Struck with the beauty of their clear, ruddy complexions and fair hair, he enquired from what country they came. “They are Angles,” was the dealer’s answer. “No, not Angles, but angels,” answered the monk; and he resolved that should he ever have the power, he would send missionaries to convert a race of so much promise. In 597, when he became head of the Church of Rome, he fulfilled his resolution, and the Abbot Augustine, with a band of forty monks, landed on the very spot where Hengist and Horsa had disembarked a hundred years before. They, too, brought with them the power of Rome, but this time it came,

not as a force from without to crush men in an iron mould of submission and uniformity, but as a persuasive voice speaking from within to rouse and cheer them with new hope. By that still, small voice the island was won over to a civilization, which, once planted, has never failed.

The chief, or rather king, of Kent — for “war had begot the king” — listened to Augustine, was converted and renounced the worship of Thor and Woden, gods of storm and slaughter. In like manner, when a little band of monks penetrated Northumbria and begged leave to speak, an aged chief arose in the assembly and said, “O, king, as a bird flies through this hall in the winter night, coming out of the darkness and vanishing into darkness again, even such is our life. If these strangers can tell us aught of what is beyond, let us give heed to them.” So, gradually, the new teaching gained ground, until what Schiller wrote became as true of England as of Greece, and it could be said:—

“The intelligible forms of ancient poets,  
The fair humanities of old religion,  
The power, the beauty, and the majesty  
That had their haunts in dale or piny mountain  
Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring,  
Or chasms and watery depths,—all these have vanished.  
They live no longer in the faith of reason.”

Christianity organized itself under monastic rule ; and the monks, whose motto of “*Laborare est orare*” meant then, as Carlyle has shown in “*Past and Present*,” actual work, and not mere words, set themselves, with a will, to clear the land anew, to build, to plough, to plant, to reap, as well as to teach and to preach.

Under their zealous labors, each monastery became, like Whitby and St. Albans, a centre of light. Schools were opened, art was cultivated, libraries were founded. Then the poet Caedmon, as Freeman tells us, “a thousand years before Milton, dealt with Milton’s theme in Milton’s spirit.” Then Gildas and Bede wrote, in rude Latin, the first page of British history ; and then the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the true beginning of pure literature in the English tongue, “continued that national history in the national spirit.”<sup>1</sup>

The culmination of that period was in Alfred, fitly called Alfred the Great, since he was the embodiment of whatever was best and bravest in the English character. The key-note of his life may be found in the words he spoke at the close of it : “So long as I have lived, I have striven to live worthily.” When he came to the throne in 871, the Danes were sweeping down on the north-eastern

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner’s Introduction to English History.

coast of the island, pillaging, destroying, murdering. The monasteries on account of their wealth, or supposed wealth, and their helplessness, were the especial objects of attack; and with good reason the frightened monks of that day added to their usual litany the petition, "From the fury of the North-men, good Lord, deliver us." The answer to that fervent prayer was Alfred's valor. After repeated defeats, he finally drove back the savage hordes, "who thought it a shame to earn by sweat what they could win by blood,"<sup>1</sup> whose boast was that they would fight in Paradise, even as they had fought on earth, and would celebrate their victories there with foaming draughts of ale, drunk from the skulls of those they had slain.

The site of the victory in Berkshire is still marked by the colossal figure of a white horse cut on the side of a chalk-hill, to commemorate the battle gained by those who carried the standard of the White Horse,—the ensign of the Saxons of Kent, then and now.

But the end was not yet. The war continued with varying fortunes during seven more years, when Alfred, having with his forces surrounded the entrenched camp of the enemy at Edington, fairly starved them into submission—a submission so com-

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus.

plete that the Danish leader offered not only to swear a peace, but to seal the oath with his baptism. By that treaty of Wedmore, the Danes bound themselves to remain north and east of a line drawn from London to Chester, following the line of the old Roman road called Watling Street.<sup>1</sup> All south thereof, including London and a large section of country round it on the north, was recognized as the dominions of Alfred, whose chief city, or capital, was Winchester; and as by this treaty the Danes acknowledged him as over-lord, Alfred became nominally what Egbert, his predecessor, had claimed to be, the king of the whole country.

He proved himself more than that, for he was lawgiver and educator beside. Through his efforts a written code was compiled, prefaced by the ten commandments and ending with the Golden Rule. Wiser or juster code no people has had before or since. Next, that learning might not utterly perish in the ashes of the abbeys and monasteries which the Danes had destroyed, the king, though feeble and often suffering, set himself to translate the writings of Bede the historian, and afterward the reflections of the Roman senator Boethius, on the supreme good, — an enquiry written by him while in prison under sentence of death.

<sup>1</sup> See Section XII. 1, Treaty of Wedmore.



Under Alfred's equitable rule the first decided step was taken in national consolidation, and about the close of the tenth century the various tribes of Angles, Jutes, Saxons and Danes, adopting the first name, called the land England, a word which may be traced to that little district of Angeln in Schleswig-Holstein, the southern part of the kingdom of Denmark, where the race originated. The best commentary on the life of the great king is found in the fact that in 1849 the people of Wantage, his native place, celebrated the thousandth anniversary of his birth, another proof that "what is excellent, as God lives, is permanent."

Two generations after Alfred's death, Dunstan, the archbishop of Canterbury, the ablest man in an age when all statesmen were ecclesiastics, came forward to take up and push onward the work begun by the great king. He labored for strict monastic rule and for the celibacy of the monks, at a time when celibacy was necessarily connected with important reforms and with the advancement of intellectual culture. He labored also, with temporary success, to reconcile the conflicting interests of Danes and English, and also to repel further invasions. So clever was he as a theologian, a politician, and even as a mechanic and artist, that it was popularly believed that in a personal contest

with the Father of Lies, Dunstan did not fail to come off triumphant.

With the close of Dunstan's career the period of decadence sets in. Fresh inroads began on the part of the Northmen, and so feeble and faint-hearted grew the resistance, that at last a yearly tax, the Danegeld, which in the outset had been levied for defence, was converted into a bribe to buy off the invaders. For a brief time this "sop to Cerberus" answered the purpose, but a time came when it proved useless. In 1013 Sweyn, the Dane, conquered England, "and all the people," says the Chronicle, "held Sweyn for full king."<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by Canute, who attacked the Scotch, and subdued "the gracious Duncan" of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, and who, barbarian though he was, showed himself upright and a friend to all.

The oppressive acts of his son brought on an insurrection in which both races joined to restore the Saxon line. Edward the Confessor, then in Brittany, was invited to become ruler. Half Norman, as he was by birth, he was wholly so in education and in tastes. He was a man of amiable excellence who neglected this world to win the other. Rightly reputed a saint in his day, and hence called the "Confessor," we see his work in the crypt of West-

<sup>1</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

minster abbey, while his tomb above is the centre around which lies a circle of royal graves. To it, multitudes made pilgrimage in olden time; and once in every year a little band of devoted Roman Catholics still gather about it in veneration of virtues which would have adorned a cloister but had not breadth and vigor to fill a throne.

With Edward, save for the short interlude of Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, and "the ablest man of an unprogressive race," the period closes.

The Anglo-Saxons had laid the corner-stone of the English nation, but the superstructure was to be the work of a different people, who were to bring in new and needed elements. In its solid, fundamental qualities England remains what the Anglo-Saxons made it. They gave, first of all, the language, simple, strong, direct and plain—the familiar speech of the street and of the fireside,—the speech of Bunyan and of the Bible. Next, they gave constitutional monarchy, parliament, and trial by jury, together with those principles, which were afterward revived and embodied in the Great Charter. Last and best, the Anglo-Saxons furnished the conservative patience, the calm, steady effort, the tenacious purpose and the cool, determined courage which have won famous and glorious battle-fields on both sides the Atlantic.

## V.

“In other countries the struggle has been to gain liberty; in England, to preserve it.” — ALISON.



## THE COMING OF THE NORMANS.

## THE KING VERSUS THE BARONS.

BUILDING THE NORMAN SUPERSTRUCTURE. — THE AGE OF  
FEUDALISM.

## NORMAN SOVEREIGNS.

William I., 1066–1087.

Henry I., 1100–1135.

William II., 1087–1100.

Stephen (house of Blois), 1135–1154.

THE Britons degenerated, as we have seen, through Roman tyranny; the Saxons, through too great prosperity. Stow, in his “Annals of England,” speaking of the condition of the people just before the Norman conquest, says, “The vices of the Saxons made them effeminate and womanish, wherefore it came to pass that running against Duke William they lost themselves and their country, with one, and that an easie and light battaile.”

The real cause, however, is to be sought deeper. What rendered the conquest possible was the lack of unity which characterized England at that time. Had not Harold's own brother turned traitorously against him at a critical moment, or had the North Country stood squarely by the South, the expedition from Normandy would, very probably, have ended in the discomfiture of the invaders.

William, 1066-1087. In the autumn of 1066, William, who claimed that both his cousin, Edward the Confessor, and Harold had pledged to him the English throne, demanded the fulfilment of the promise. On Harold's refusal to abdicate in his favor, he fitted out a large force of cavalry and archers, consisting partly of his own men and partly of hired troops to the number of 60,000,<sup>1</sup> and "landed on the gorse-clad downs of Pevensey, where stood and still stand the ruins of a Roman fortress, the last relic of a great city destroyed by the Saxons when they obtained possession of Britain."

After a sanguinary fight, William's strategy decided the day, and Harold and his brave men found to their cost, that "it is the thinking bayonet which conquers." There, a few years later, the Norman general built the abbey of Battle to commemorate the victory by which he gained his crown; and there,

<sup>1</sup> The estimates of William's army vary from 14,000 to 60,000.

too, tradition represents him as burying Harold's body under a heap of stones by the sea-shore; so that standing by that cairn to-day, we seem to be standing by the grave of the Old England. The earliest and the best history of the battle is that wrought by a woman's hand in the scenes of the famous Bayeux Tapestry.

Soon after the battle, William advanced on London, which, cut off by his army from help from the north, and terrified by the flames of the Southwark suburbs which he had fired, surrendered without a blow. In return, the new ruler granted to the inhabitants a charter; and among the archives of Guildhall may be seen a narrow strip of parchment, not bigger than a man's hand, containing a few lines of English, and signed with William's mark,—for he who wielded the sword so effectually had not learned to handle the pen,—by which mark all the past privileges and immunities of the city were confirmed.<sup>1</sup>

On the following Christmas-day, William was anointed and crowned in Westminster abbey. But the country was not at peace, and for four years there were outbreaks and uprisings in the fens of Lincolnshire and on the moors of Yorkshire, beside incursions of both Danes and Scots.

<sup>1</sup> See Section XII. 4, William's Charter.

Little by little, however, the land was brought to obedience. By forced marches in midwinter, by means of roads cast up through bogs, and by sudden night-attacks, William accomplished the end he sought. When all seemed finished, news came of a fresh revolt in the north, accompanied by another invasion of foreign barbarians. Then William, roused to terrible anger, swore "by the splendor of God," that he would lay waste the land. He made good his oath. For a hundred miles beyond the Humber he ravaged the country, firing villages, destroying houses, crops and cattle, and reducing the wretched people to such destitution that many sold themselves for slaves to escape starvation. Stern measures, these, and pitiless, but better even these than that all England should sink into anarchy or into subjection to hordes of Norsemen, who destroyed purely out of love of destruction and hatred of civilization and its works. For, whatever William's faults or crimes, his great object was the upbuilding of a system of government better than any that England had yet seen. Hence his severity, hence his elaborate safeguards, by which he made sure of retaining his hold on whatever he gained. We have seen that he gave London a charter. But overlooking the place in which that charter was kept, he built the tower of London to hold the

turbulent city in wholesome restraint. That tower, as fortress, palace and prison, stands as the background of nearly all the darkest events in English history. It was the progenitor, so to speak, of the multitude of castles and strongholds which soon after rose on the banks of every river and on the summit of every rocky height, from the west hill of Hastings to the Peak of Derbyshire, and from the banks of the Thames to the Dee.

Considering his love of power and his strength of will, the reign of William the Conqueror was conspicuous for its justice. Save the appropriation of the New Forest, an extensive tract of sterile soil with here and there an oasis, which he took for a hunting-ground, and for that purpose despoiled, there are few discreditable acts to be charged against him.

Not quite twenty years after his coronation, William ordered a survey and valuation to be made of all the land in the realm outside of London excepting three border counties, that were sparsely populated by a mixed race, or that, since the "wasting of the North," had nothing to record since the days when they were filled with heaps of smouldering ruins and ridges of newly-made graves. Through the exhaustive returns of that survey, known as Domesday Book, the exact military and financial condition of the kingdom was exhibited and rendered directly available for revenue and defence.



In the midsummer following its completion William summoned the nobles and landholders of the entire country, to the number of over sixty thousand, to meet him on Salisbury Plain.

There was a logical connection between that summoning and the survey. The census which had been taken furnished an accurate account of each man's possessions, and therefore of each man's responsibility. It thus prepared the way for the assembly and for the action that was to be taken there. The place chosen was historic ground, for on that field William had once reviewed his victorious troops, and in the centre of the encampment rose the hill of Old Sarum scarred with the remains of Roman entrenchments. Stonehenge was near. There, within sight of the burial mounds of primeval races, which had there had a home during the childhood of the world, the Norman sovereign finished his work by demanding and receiving the sworn allegiance, not only of every lord, but of every lord's vassal, from Cornwall to the Scottish border. By this act England was made one. A score of years before William had landed seeking a throne to which no human law had given him just claim, but to which Nature had elected him by pre-ordained decree when she endowed him with power to take, power to use, and power to hold.

It was fortunate for England that he came, for out of chaos, or affairs fast drifting to chaos, his strong hand, clear brain and resolute purpose brought order, beauty, safety and stability; so that we may say with Guizot that "England owes her liberties to her having been conquered by the Norman."

In less than a year from that meeting, William was in Normandy endeavoring to quell a rebellion led by his son. As he rode down a steep street in Mantes, his horse stumbled, and he received a fatal injury. He was carried to the Priory of Saint Gervaise, just outside the city of Rouen. Early in the morning he was awakened by the great cathedral bell. "It is the hour of praise," his attendant said to him, "when the priests give thanks for the new day." William lifted up his hands—and expired.

The results of the Conquest may be thus summed up:—

I. It brought England into closer contact with the higher civilization of the continent; introduced fresh intellectual stimulus, and gave to the Anglo-Saxon race a more progressive spirit.

II. It changed the English language by the influence of the Norman-French elements, and thus gave it greater flexibility, refinement and elegance of expression.

III. It substituted for the fragile and decaying structures of wood built by the Saxons, noble Gothic edifices in stone—the cathedral and the castle both being essentially Norman.

IV. It hastened consolidating influences, already at work; developed and completed the feudal form of land-tenure; and defined the relation of the state to the papal power.

V. It abolished the four great earldoms of the Saxon period, which had been a constant source of weakness, danger and division; and established a strong monarchical government, to which the nobles were compelled to swear allegiance, and which enforced obedience to the law among all classes.

William Rufus, When the Conqueror realized that his 1087-1100. hurt was mortal, he called his sons to his bedside, and bequeathed Normandy to Robert, the eldest, and England to his younger brother, William Rufus.

Robert's recent rebellion would, alone, have been sufficient reason for allotting to him the lesser portion; but even had he deserved the sceptre, William knew that it required a firmer hand than his to hold it. France was "a divided collection of independent baronies." The reckless ambition of the Norman leaders who had fought at Hastings threatened to bring England into the same condition. During the twenty-one years of William's reign they had

repeatedly tried to break loose from his restraining power. It was certain, then, that the news of his death would be the signal for still more desperate attempts. William Rufus had his father's ability and his father's resolution, with far less than his father's conscience. As the historian of that day declared, He feared God but little — man, not at all. He had Cæsar's faith in destiny, and said to the boatman who hesitated to set off in a storm at his command, Did you ever hear of a king's being drowned?

During the greater part of the thirteen years of his reign he was at war with his barons. It was a battle of centralization against disintegration. Had not the English people rallied to his help at Rochester, the latter would probably have gained the day. But of the two evils — the tyranny of one or the tyranny of many — the first seemed preferable.

If in some respects William the Conqueror had been a harsh ruler, his son was worse. Like Rehoboam of old, his little finger was thicker than his father's loins. His brother Robert had mortgaged Normandy to him to get money to join the first Crusade. The king raised it by heavy taxation. He robbed the Church of its income, insulted its ministers, and held such orgies in his palace, and even in the great hall which he built at Westminster, that those who took part in them were ashamed to speak of them. His one merit was that he kept

England from being devoured piecemeal by those who regarded her as a pack of hounds in full chase regards the hare about falling into their rapacious jaws.

In 1100 his power came suddenly to an end. He had gone in the morning to hunt in the New Forest; — he was found lying dead among the bushes, pierced by an arrow, shot by an unknown hand.

Henry I.,  
1100-1135. Henry was the first of the Norman kings who was born and educated in England. Foreseeing a renewal of the contest with the barons, he issued a charter of liberties, on his accession, by which he bound himself to reform the abuses which had been practised by his brother, William Rufus.<sup>1</sup> As this was the earliest written and formal guarantee of good government, given by the crown to the nation, it marks an important epoch in English history. It was a virtual admission that the time had come when even a Norman sovereign could not dispense with the support of the country, and hence an admission of the truth that while a people can exist without a king, no king can exist without a people. Furthermore this charter established a precedent for those which were to follow, and which reached a final development in the Great Charter wrested from the unwilling hand of John, somewhat more than a century later.

<sup>1</sup> For the substance of this Charter, see Section XII. 7.

Henry strengthened his position by his marriage with the "good queen Maude," niece of the Saxon Edgar Atheling, and, with the aid of troops furnished by the country, he defeated and expelled Robert of Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury,<sup>1</sup> the most powerful of the mutinous barons, and, crossing the channel, he fought the battle of Tenchenbray, by which he conquered Normandy, then in revolt, as completely as Normandy had once conquered England. By his uprightness, his decision, his courage, he fairly won the honorable title of "the Lion of Justice," for, as the Chronicle records, No man durst mis-do against another in his time.

Stephen,  
1135-1154. With Henry's death two candidates presented themselves for the throne: Henry's daughter Matilda — for he left no lawful son — and his nephew Stephen. It was a maxim of the Salic law of France that the crown should never descend to a female, and in an age when the sovereign was expected to lead his army in person, it was not expedient that a woman should hold a position one of whose chief duties she could not discharge. For the sake of promoting discord, and through discord their own private ends, part of the barons gave their support to Matilda, while the rest refused, as they said, to "hold their estates under a distaff."

<sup>1</sup> See *Ordericus Vitalis*, XI. 3.

The fatal defect in the new king—for Stephen had assumed the crown—was the absence of executive ability. Following the example of Henry, he issued two charters; but without authority to make them good, they proved to be only waste paper. For nineteen years the country was torn by civil war. While it raged, fortified castles, which under William the Conqueror had been sternly repressed, arose on every side, and they became, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle declares, “very nests of devils and dens of thieves.” The armed bands who inhabited them levied tribute on the whole country around. Not satisfied with that, they seized those who were suspected of having property, and, in the words of the Chronicle, “tortured them with pains unspeakable; for some they hung up by the feet and smoked with foul smoke; others they crushed in a narrow chest with sharp stones; about the heads of others they bound knotted cords until they went into the brain.” “By such deeds the land was ruined,” writes the monk of Peterborough; and “men said openly that Christ and his saints were asleep.”<sup>1</sup> The sleep, however, was not to last, for in the next reign Justice, in the person of Henry II., effectually vindicated its power.

<sup>1</sup> Peterborough: continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

## VI.

“Man bears within him certain ideas of order, of justice, of reason, with a certain desire to bring them into play . . .; for this he labors unceasingly.” — GUIZOT, *Hist. of Civilization*.



THE ANGEVINS, OR PLANTAGENETS, 1154-1399.

THE BARONS VERSUS THE CROWN.

CONSOLIDATION OF NORMAN AND SAXON INTERESTS. — RISE OF  
THE ENGLISH NATION.

Henry II., 1154-1189.

Edward I., 1272-1307.

Richard I., 1189-1199.

Edward II., 1307-1327.

John, 1199-1216.

Edward III., 1327-1377.

Henry III., 1216-1272.

Richard II., 1377-1399.

By the treaty of Wallingford, made in Henry II., 1154-1189. the last year of his life, Stephen had agreed that, at his death, Matilda's son Henry, then of age, should succeed to the crown provided he renounced all claim to it at any earlier time. Through his mother, and the dowry received with his wife, Henry inherited the whole of western France, so that on his accession to the throne he found himself in possession of a realm extending



from the borders of Scotland to the base of the Pyrenees. To this he added Ireland, which, unfortunately, only partially conquered, and still more unfortunately, seldom if ever justly ruled, has since remained, in Macaulay's expressive phrase, "a withered and distorted member of the United Kingdom." To Henry's summons to furnish troops for an expedition on the continent, the barons returned a refusal, alleging that they were not bound to military service out of England. The king wisely proposed a compromise, and offered to accept a moderate commutation in money, technically called *scutage* or shield-money. The proposal was accepted, and the means were thus furnished to hire soldiers for wars abroad. Later he supplemented this by obtaining the passage of a law entitled the Assize of Arms, which revived the national militia and placed them under his command for home service. By these two measures Henry made himself practically independent of feudal service, and in doing so gained possession of a greater degree of power than had been held by any previous ruler.

He was also the first of the kings of England who successfully established a great judicial and legal administrative system. By that system the country was divided into six circuits nearly corresponding to those of the present day. Eighteen judges, or

itinerant justices, were sent out over these circuits to try all cases brought before them on appeal from the county and baronial courts, both of which, says Sir Matthew Hale, had become places where every species of corruption and intimidation were practised. In this way the king's court was brought to every man's door, and before that tribunal suitors might hope for an impartial hearing.

In addition to this, Henry instituted a grand jury to examine criminal cases and present them to the itinerant justices; and by the Assize<sup>1</sup> of Clarendon he provided that those who objected to the Norman method of deciding disputes by a battle or duel between the contestants, should have the privilege of referring the matter to a civil jury.

Henry's second great measure, the Constitutions<sup>2</sup> of Clarendon,—so called because passed at the king's hunting seat at Clarendon park,—enacted that ecclesiastics charged with crime should no longer be tried in their own, but in the civil courts, in order that all classes should be equal before the law. In the reign of William I. the Church had been allowed separate jurisdiction. Flagrant abuses had grown out of this privilege, and in Henry's time not only monks and clergymen claimed immunity from

<sup>1</sup> Assize, *i.e.*, law or statute.

<sup>2</sup> Constitutions, *i.e.*, laws or enactments.

the secular courts, but multitudes of others, whose only evidence of sanctity was that they wore the tonsure.

Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was utterly opposed to the change, and stoutly resisted. The king insisted, and swore by "God's eyes" that the law should be enforced; Becket, equally determined, swore by "his reverence for those eyes" that it should not. "Then was seen the mournful spectacle," says a champion of the Church of that day, "of priests and deacons who had committed murder, manslaughter, robbery, theft and other crimes, carried in carts before the commissioners, and punished as if they had been ordinary men." Becket, finding that Henry was firm, left the kingdom in a rage, and Henry, who was equally passionate, forthwith banished all the archbishop's relatives and friends, without regard to age or sex, to the number of nearly four hundred. Becket retorted by hurling that awful anathema of excommunication at the king's chief counsellors, which declares those on whom it rests accursed of God and of man, deprived of help in this world and shut out from hope in the world to come. After several years a reconciliation was effected, and Becket returned. But soon the contest was renewed, and in an unguarded moment Henry exclaimed, Who will rid me of that turbu-

lent priest? In answer to the king's angry cry for relief, four knights set off at once, without his knowledge, for Canterbury, and brutally murdered the archbishop within the walls of the cathedral. That murder caused the canonization of Becket, who was regarded as a martyr in the cause of the Church. The stone pavement around his shrine shows, by the hollows worn in it, where thousands of pilgrims crept on their knees to pray for his intercession.

Henry was so far vanquished that he had to relinquish all attempts to render the clergy amenable to the state; but, in making the attempt, he had sowed the seed which was to bear fruit in a later generation.

While absent in Normandy, the king received tidings of a formidable revolt by the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Durham. Hastening to England, he stopped at Canterbury to do penance at the tomb of the man whom his hasty words had slain. There he bowed in abject humiliation, and was beaten with rods, like the vilest criminal, in expiation of his sin. Meanwhile his faithful adherents had rallied and suppressed the rebellion; and with it the struggle between the crown and the barons, which had lasted just one hundred years, came to an end,—never to be renewed in that form; since it was then settled that England was not to be

divided as a spoil among the great land-owners, but was to be governed as a whole by one central power.

Henry's last days were embittered by the unfaithfulness of his sons. He trusted John, who was the youngest; but when peace had been made with France, and the king asked to see a list of the names of those who had conspired against him, John's name stood first. That blow was mortal: a few days later the old man died, broken-hearted,—his work only half done, but that half was done to last, and it has left its beneficent marks to this day on the English constitution and laws.

**Richard I.,** Henry II. was succeeded by his second son, Richard, known as Richard Cœur de Lion, for his love of battle and adventure, but who might better be known as the absentee king, since of a nominal reign of ten years he spent but about six months in England; the remaining time being consumed in wars abroad.

The condition of society during that period is admirably presented in Walter Scott's novel of *Ivanhoe*, wherein every class appears—from the Saxon serf and swineherd, wearing his brazen collar, the outlaw, Robin Hood, in Sherwood forest, the baron in his castle torturing Jews to extort their gold, and the mail-clad knights riding tourneys at Ashby-de-la-Zouche.

Since the Conquest, our sympathy has all been for the king; we have watched him struggling against the lawless nobles, and every gain he has made in power, we have felt to be so much won for the cause of good government. But we are coming to a period when our sympathies will be the other way.<sup>1</sup> The power of the throne had now reached a point where it became arbitrary, and the welfare of the nation depends henceforth on the resistance of those who formerly menaced its safety.

We have seen that in order to raise money to join the Crusades, Robert of Normandy pawned his dukedom to his brother Rufus. With the same object, Richard sold offices and dignities to the highest bidder, and granted many charters to towns on the same terms, saying, with an oath, to one of his court who remonstrated with him, that "he would sell London itself if he could find a buyer."

The third Crusade was a failure, and Richard, on his way home, was seized and held captive by his enemy, the emperor of Austria. John, who had remained in England, plotted with Philip of France to keep his brother in prison while he got possession of the throne. But, notwithstanding his efforts,

<sup>1</sup> Ransome, Rise of the English Constitution.

Richard regained his liberty on condition of raising an enormous ransom. When the king of France heard of this, he wrote to John, Look out for yourself; the devil has broke loose. But Richard passed over his brother's treason with contemptuous indifference, and John lived to gain a throne which he disgraced.

The Crusades gave to England a few details of architectural ornament, like the Greek pattern one sees sculptured on the Norman arches of Iffley church, Oxford. It created also that fantastic science of heraldry which had its origin in the crosses painted on the shields of the knights. Had these been the chief results, they would have been but a sorry compensation for the blood spilled and treasure wasted in vain attempts to recover possession of the sepulchre of Christ. But the real results were wholly different, and were perhaps worth all they cost. The full effect of the Crusades was seen, not in the benefits they conferred, but in the evils they removed. When they began, says Gibbon, the greater part of the inhabitants of Europe was chained to the soil, without freedom or property or knowledge, and the two orders, ecclesiastic and nobles, whose number was comparatively small, alone deserved the name of citizens and men. . . . Among the causes that undermined that Gothic

edifice, a conspicuous place must be assigned to the Crusades. The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race was often extinguished in these costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, made secure the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community.

John,  
1199-1216. The reign of John was occupied with three momentous quarrels: first with France, then with the pope, lastly with the barons. By the quarrel with France he lost Normandy, and became "John Lackland"; by that with the pope he united the power of Church and nobles against himself; and by that with the barons, he was forced to grant the Great Charter.

Shortly after his accession, while he was at Rouen, his nephew, Arthur, a boy of twelve, mysteriously disappeared, or, as Matthew of Paris expressed it, "vanished." Philip of France accused John of having murdered the lad, in order to remove a possible rival to the English throne; and ordered the king, as Duke of Normandy, and hence his feudal vassal, to appear at Paris and answer for the crime. John refused, war was declared, and his French possessions were



taken from him. From that time, says Macaulay, the Norman nobles were compelled to make their election between the island and the continent. Before that time the Norman's contempt for the Saxon was so great that his most indignant exclamation was, Do you take me for an Englishman? Now, shut in by the sea with the people he had hitherto oppressed and despised, he gradually came to regard England as his country, and Englishmen as his countrymen. The two races, so long hostile, soon found that they had common interests and common enemies.

Two years after his defeat, John entered upon his second quarrel. Pope Innocent III. had commanded a delegation of the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton archbishop in place of the royal treasurer whom the king had compelled them to elect. When the news reached John, he forbade Langton's landing in England, though it was his native country. The pope forthwith declared the kingdom under an interdict. For five years the churches were hung in mourning, the bells ceased to ring, the doors were fast shut. For five years the priests denied the sacraments to the living and funeral prayers for the dead. At the end of that time the pope, by a bull of excommunication, cut off the king as a withered branch from the Church of

Christ, and to render it the more effective, ordered Philip of France to seize England as his own. Then John, knowing that he stood alone, made a virtue of necessity, kneeled at the feet of the pope's legate, accepted Stephen Langton as archbishop, and promised to pay a yearly tax to Rome if he might be permitted to keep his crown. Innocent was satisfied with the victory he had gained over his ignoble foe, and peace was made.

But peace in one direction did not mean peace in all. John's tyranny, brutality, and disregard of his subjects' rights had gone too far. Those who had suffered were determined to have reformation, and to have it in the form of a written pledge bearing the king's signature and seal. The new archbishop was not less determined. He no sooner landed than he demanded of the king that he should swear to "observe the laws of the Confessor" — a phrase in which the whole of the national liberties were summed up.

In the summer of 1213, a council was held at St. Albans, composed of representatives from all parts of the kingdom. It was the first assembly of the kind on record, and it convened to consider what claims should be made on the king, in the interest both of the clergy and the country. Their deliberations took shape, perhaps under Langton's guid-

ing hand, of a charter, framed after the model of charters already granted by Henry I. and Stephen, but in every respect fuller and stronger in its provisions.

Late in the autumn of the following year, the barons met in the Abbey-church of Bury St. Edmunds, under their leader, Robert Fitzwalter of London. Advancing, one by one, up the nave to the high altar, they solemnly swore that they would oblige John to grant the charter which they had drawn up or they would declare war against him.

At Easter, 1215, the same barons, attended by two thousand armed knights, met the king near Oxford, and made known to him their demands. John tried to evade a direct answer. Seeing that to be impossible and finding that London was on the side of the barons, he yielded, and requested them to name a day and place for the ratification of the articles. Let the day be the 15th of June, the place Runnymede, was the reply. In accordance therewith we read at the foot of the shrivelled parchment, preserved in the British Museum, these words: "Given under our hand . . . in the meadow called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

By the terms of that document, henceforth to be

known as Magna Carta, it was stipulated that the following grievances should be redressed: (1) those of the Church; (2) those of the barons and their vassals; (3) of freemen [and indirectly of serfs]; (4) of cities and tradesmen.

Of the sixty-three articles constituting the Great Charter most are now obsolete, but three possess imperishable value. These provide that no freeman shall be imprisoned or proceeded against except by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; that justice shall neither be sold, denied, or delayed; and that all dues from the people to the king, unless otherwise specified, shall be imposed only with the consent of the common council of the realm—an admirable expedient, says Mackintosh, by which the power of taxation was converted into the shield of liberty. Thus all classes, the clergy, the barons, the lower vassals and freeholders, even the merchants and the peasants, found their interests consulted, and, for the first time, the English people appear in constitutional history of the country as a united whole.<sup>1</sup>

So highly was this charter esteemed that down to the reign of Henry VI. it had been confirmed no less than thirty-seven times; and the very day that Charles II. entered London as a restored king, the commons asked him to confirm it again.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner's Introduction; and see Section XII. 12 — Magna Carta.

The remainder of John's ignominious reign was an unsuccessful attempt to break loose from the bond he had given. "They have placed twenty-four kings over me," he said in his fury after he had signed the instrument — referring to the twenty-four barons who were appointed to see that the charter was not to become a dead letter. The twenty-four did their duty, and John tried in vain not to do his. In the midst of the struggle he died; — a man of whom it has been said, "He was a knight without truth, a king without justice, and a Christian without faith." He was buried in Worcester cathedral, in a monk's cowl, between two Saxon saints to protect him.

**Henry III.,**  
1216-1272. Henry was crowned at the age of nine. England's motto during his long and feeble reign might well have been the words of Ecclesiastes, "Wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child"; for a child he remained to the last, and so the opposite of his father, whose heart was of millstone while Henry's was of wax. Dante has represented him in his "Purgatorio" as a man of simple life, spending his time singing psalms in a narrow valley. Still, one good thing which the world could ill afford to spare, was to come from the king's psalm-singing proclivity. Westminster abbey in its present form was almost wholly

Henry's work. A monument so glorious goes far toward atoning for the absence of mental and moral grandeur in the builder. Yet, according to Dean Stanley, it was the expense incurred in erecting the great minster which was one of the chief causes of the illegal tax levies that bred discontent and finally civil war.

In 1258, so strong was the pressure which bishop and barons alike brought to bear upon the king, that he was compelled to renew the agreement made by his father at Runnymede. Standing in St. Catherine's chapel, within the abbey not yet completed, Henry, holding a lighted taper in his hand, in company with the chief men of the realm, swore to observe the provisions of the covenant, exclaiming at the close, as he dashed the taper on the pavement, while all present repeated the words and the action, "So go out with smoke and stench the accursed souls of those who break or pervert this charter." There is no evidence that the king was insincere in his oath; but unfortunately his piety was that of impulse not of principle. The compact was soon broken, and the land again stripped by imposts extorted by violence, partly to cover Henry's own extravagance, but largely to swell the coffers of the pope, who had promised to make his son ruler over Sicily. During this time the barons were

daily growing more mutinous and defiant, preferring, as they said, "to die rather than be ruined by the Romans." "I will send reapers and reap your fields for you," cried the king to Earl Bigod; "And I will send you back the heads of your reapers," retorted the Earl.

In 1264 the crisis was reached. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, better known to the people as Sir Simon the Righteous, with fifteen thousand Londoners and a number of the barons, met Henry, who had a stronger force, on the heights above the town of Lewes in Sussex. The result of the great battle fought there was as decisive as that which had been fought two centuries before, by the Conqueror, on the same coast. Bracton, the foremost jurist of that day, had said in his comments on the state of the times, "If the king were without a bridle,—that is the law,—they ought to put a bridle on him." Earl Simon had that bridle ready, and when victory made him "the head of the state," he called a parliament which differed from all its predecessors in the fact that, for the first time, two citizens from each city and two burgesses from each borough were summoned to join the barons and knights in their deliberations. In this way originated that House of Commons which was to sit for more than three hundred years in the chapter-house

of Henry's abbey at Westminster, and which was to make Magna Carta a living and effective truth instead of a dead promise to be rolled up, put away, and forgotten. Thus, says Macaulay, it was in Westminster in the thirteenth century — that age which saw the dawn of learning at Oxford and at Cambridge — that the archetype of every representative assembly which now meets, either in the old world or the new, held its first sittings, — the beginning, as it proved, of what President Lincoln called, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Yet the same year brought for the earl a fatal reaction. The barons, jealous of his power, fell away from him. Edward, the king's eldest son, gathered them around the royal standard to attack and crush the man who had humiliated his father. De Montfort was at Evesham; from the top of the church tower he saw the prince approaching. "Commend your souls to God," he said to the faithful few who stood by him; "for our bodies are the foes'!" There he fell. In the north aisle of the abbey, not far from Henry's tomb, may be seen the emblazoned arms of the brave earl. England, so rich in effigies of her great men, so faithful, too, in her remembrance of them, has not yet set up in the vestibule of the Houses of Parliament,



among the statues of her statesmen, the image of him who was in many respects the leader of them all, and the real originator and founder of the House itself.

Edward I.,  
1272-1307. Yet though Earl Simon was dead his work went on. Edward himself carried it forward and perfected it. In his reign the parliamentary system was developed and firmly established in its twofold form of Lords and Commons, and under the wise king's equitable rule the country prospered. Henry II. had labored to secure unity of law for all England, Edward had for his object the geographical unity of the whole island. On the west, north Wales still maintained its independence. The king achieved its conquest, and the people accepted his infant son as Prince of Wales. The magnificent castles of Caernarvon and of Conway were the two padlocks with which he secured the new territory. The North proved more difficult to overcome; but the war ended in victory, and Edward seized at Scone the famous stone of destiny, on which the ancient kings of Scotland had been crowned, and, carrying the trophy to Westminster, enclosed it in the coronation-chair, which has been used by every sovereign from his son's reign to the present. Events proved, however, that Scotland was not wholly conquered. The patriot William Wallace rose and led his coun-

trymen against the English — led them with that spirit of impetuous ardor which breathes in Burns's "Scots wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled." But fate was against him; the valiant soldier was captured, executed on Tower Hill as a traitor, and his head, crowned in mockery with a wreath of laurel, was set on a pike on London bridge. But though the hero, quartered on the scaffold, could not hinder his country's becoming, one day, a part of England, — he did hinder its becoming so on unfair and tyrannous terms. "Scotland is not Ireland. No; because brave men arose there and said, 'Behold, ye must not tread us down like slaves, — and ye shall not, — and ye cannot!'"<sup>1</sup>

The one dark stain on Edward's reign was his expulsion of the Jews, whom he first stripped of their possessions and then drove into exile, — a miserable procession, in number no fewer than sixteen thousand. The brightest and tenderest side of his character showed itself in the crosses which he raised in mournful memory of his queen, Eleanor. These were erected at the places where her body was set down in its transit from Lincoln, where she died, to the little village of Charing,<sup>2</sup> its last station before reaching its final resting place in the abbey, which holds such wealth of historic dust. At his death

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Past and Present*.

<sup>2</sup> Now Charing Cross, London.

Edward ordered his bones to be carried at the head of the army until Scotland should be conquered.

Edward II., If "king" means *the man who can*, — *the*  
1307-1327. *able man*, — then Edward II. was no king; he was simply a jester and a trifler. Neither moral nor intellectual earnestness was in him; all he cared for were his ill-starred favorites, the Frenchman, Hugh Gaveston, and the English Despensers. Seeing his want of fibre, Scotland made a bold push to regain its independence, and after a victory on the field of Bannockburn, Robert Bruce drove the English, like a flock of sheep, back over the border.<sup>1</sup> Disgusted with their leader, and jealous of those whom he delighted to honor, the barons united to depose Edward, and shut him up in Berkely Castle, in Gloucestershire, where he was murdered. Over this stately structure, carefully preserved, is still displayed the standard borne in the Crusades by its gallant owner.

Edward III., Froissart, secretary of Queen Philippa,  
1327-1377. wife of Edward III., writes, in the courtly chronicle which is to his reign what the Bayeux Tapestry is to that of William the Conqueror, "It is a common opinion in England that between two valiant kings there is always one weak in mind and body; and most true it is that this is apparent in the exam-

<sup>1</sup> See Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* for narrative of Bruce.

ple of the gallant King Edward, of whom I am now to speak. For his father, King Edward II., was weak, unwise, and cowardly, while his grandfather, the good King Edward, was wise, brave, very enterprising and fortunate in war.”<sup>1</sup>

Edward the Third is directly connected with two most important events, the rise of English commerce, and the beginning of the Hundred Years' War. From a purely agricultural country England had begun, in its eastern counties, to give attention to wool-growing, exporting the product to the Flemish cities of Ghent and Bruges to be woven into cloth, and returned to the English market: for, as Fuller quaintly remarks, the English people at that time knew no more what to do with the wool, than the sheep upon whose backs it grew.

All this was now to be changed. By the introduction of skilled Flemish workmen England took the first step in producing her own cloth, and, by doing so, laid the foundation of an industry which has since made her the greatest manufacturing power in the world. In the early part of Edward's reign this undertaking was in its infancy, and the country still depended on the looms of Flanders.

The king of France was desirous of getting possession of the Netherlands, and also of acquiring that

<sup>1</sup> Froissart, Chronicles.

tract of French territory south of the Loire, still held by England. To attain this object Philip harassed the merchant ships of England with his privateers, while he formed an alliance with Scotland, and threatened to attack Edward's dominions from the north.

Edward's rejoinder was an invasion of France, with an audacious demand for the surrender of the French crown, followed by the splendid victory of Crecy in 1346, and, ten years later, that of Poitiers. At Crecy, small cannon were used for the first time, for the purpose of frightening the enemy's horses; they were laughed at as toys, but these toys were destined to revolutionize warfare in the course of the next century, and to make steel-clad knights simply a tradition and a name.

No one, however, foresaw that event, and chivalry was apparently in its most brilliant period. The time had been when the monk and the nun were almost the exclusive ideals of Christian life; but after the Crusades the profession of arms had been exalted, the rough and brutal warrior had learned that self-restraint and respect for others were higher qualities than prowess in the field. It is true that respect was due only to his own class; yet who can doubt that to the cultivation of the sense of honor, truthfulness, and courtesy of those days, we

are largely indebted now for the best type of the modern gentleman. Chivalry, therefore, was not lost, nor were they lost who established it.

“The knights are dust,  
Their good swords rust,  
Their souls are with the saints, we trust.”

At Crecy, Edward's son, the Black Prince, a lad of fifteen, saw his first battle, and displayed that courage by which, ten years later, he was to win the field of Poitiers. Attacked by a much superior force, and hard-pressed, the Earl of Warwick became alarmed for the prince's safety and sent to the king for reënforcements. “Is my son killed?” asked the king. “No, sire, please God.” “Is he wounded?” “No, sire.” “Is he thrown to the ground?” “No, sire; but he is in great danger.” “Then,” said the king, “I shall send no aid; let the boy win his spurs; for I wish, if God so order it, that the honor of the victory shall be his.”

But better than any valor on the part of the nobles, was the sturdy right arm of the English yeomen which gained the day, with arrows, sent so thick, white, and fast, that Froissart compared them to a shower of snow.

In the end, the Hundred Years' War left England with hardly a square mile of French soil, but the

memory of the deeds done in those fierce contests made the glory of the Black Prince, whose dented breast-plate and helmet hang above his tomb at Canterbury, one with the glory of the plain men whose names are found only in country churchyards; so that whatever lingering feeling of jealousy and hatred had remained in England between the two races who occupied the soil, it gradually melted away in an honest patriotic pride that caused Norman and Saxon to confess that at last they were a united and homogeneous people.

In 1349 a plague broke out in London, which swept over the whole country and destroyed more than half the population. In some cities, like Bristol, the living were hardly able to bury the dead. Labor was everywhere disorganized, "so that the world," as a chronicler of the times says, "was never able to return to its own estate." After the disease had spent itself, it was impossible to find men enough to till the fields and shear the sheep. The consequence of the scarcity of hands was a general demand for higher wages on the part of those who were free, and an effort by the serfs to break through the laws which held them bound to the soil. To check both these movements, Parliament passed the Statute of Laborers, making it a crime for them to demand higher wages than before the Black Death.

But the agitation continued till it reached its climax under the next king.

Richard II., Edward the Third's eldest son, the 1377-1399. Black Prince, died a year before his father, and his son Richard (the Redeless, *i.e.*, the unwise) obtained the crown. The most important event of this reign was the insurrection of Wat Tyler. The immediate cause of the uprising was the levying of an exorbitant poll-tax, rendered necessary by the expenses of the war with France. It was assessed on laborers of both sexes over fourteen years of age, and the collection in the case of Tyler's daughter, as in many others, was accompanied by a shameful insult; but the true grievance was much deeper, and the peasant revolt, which the poet Gower ridiculed, and which Froissart treated with courtly contempt, was the beginning of a momentous social revolution.

Tyler gathered a multitude of discontented serfs and laborers on Blackheath common, to the number of sixty thousand. There, John Ball, a communist priest, preached to them from the lines, then familiar to every working-man, —

“When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then a gentleman?”

“Good people,” cried the preacher, “things will



never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villains and gentlemen." It was in this preaching, as Green has said, that England first heard the declaration of the rights of man, and the knell of feudalism.

According to tradition, the dagger emblazoned in the arms of the city of London shows how the uprising was checked by the hand of the mayor of the city. Recent research resolves this dagger into the sword of St. Paul, and so gives the death stroke to another bit of ancient romance.<sup>1</sup> Be that as it may, the great movement continued to gather strength; and though no violent demonstration was made after Tyler's death, until Cade's rebellion under Henry VI., yet serfdom was doomed, and in the course of the next century and a half villanage was gradually abolished, and the laborer acquired that greatest of all possessions, the ownership of himself.

The new spirit was manifested likewise in literature and in religion. Piers Plowman had dreamed his dream on the Malvern Hills, in which he had met "all the wealth of the world and its woe both." Contrasting the wealth and the woe, he complained in his rugged verse how the latter predominates, and how the rich and great destroy the poor. Chaucer, on the other hand, painted the brighter side of life

<sup>1</sup> Loftie's History of London.

in his "Canterbury Tales," but flouts with his wit the money-loving priest "with wallet full of pardons hot from Rome."

Meanwhile John Wycliffe, who like Langland and Chaucer felt that the times were out of joint, sent forth his "poor priests," of whom Ball may have been one, to circulate his manuscript translation of the Bible. The cost of it was such that only the wealthy could own a complete copy, but those who could not spare money would give a load of hay for a few favorite chapters, though, at a later date, they were forced to hide these treasures under their house-floors, and to sit up at night or go secretly to the woods to read or hear the word of life.

Forty years after Wycliffe's death, when the persecution of his followers, known by the name of Lollards (*i.e.*, Babblers or Psalm-singers), had begun, the reformer's body was condemned to be dug up and burned. According to tradition the ashes were thrown into a brook flowing into the Avon, and hence the lines:—

"The Avon to the Severn runs,  
The Severn to the sea;  
And Wycliffe's dust shall spread abroad,  
Wide as the waters be."

Richard was hated by the nobles for his unjust ban-

ishment of Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, and for his still more unjust confiscation of his estates. He was hated by the clergy for protecting the Lollards at court. He was hated by the people for new taxes which he levied. Hence his deposition in favor of Henry, who claimed not only his lands, but the throne. The king had rebuilt Westminster Hall. The first parliament that assembled there met to depose him. Shakespeare represents the scene in the great hall, and makes the king say, —

“With mine own tears I wash away my balm,  
With mine own hand I give away my crown.”

After he was deposed he was imprisoned in Pontefract castle, where, like his grandfather Edward II., he was murdered.

## VII.

"God's most dreaded instrument,  
 In working out a pure intent,  
 Is man — arrayed for mutual slaughter."

WORDSWORTH.



## THE SELF-DESTRUCTION OF FEUDALISM.

## BARON AGAINST BARON.

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK, 1399-1485.

Henry IV., 1399-1413.	Edward V. 1483. <sup>2</sup>
Henry V., 1413-1422.	Richard III., 1483-1485.
Henry VI., 1422-1471. <sup>1</sup>	House of Lancaster (the Red Rose).
Edward IV., 1461-1483.	House of York (the White Rose):

RICHARD had no children. The near-est to the throne, by right of birth, was Henry IV., 1399-1413. Roger Mortimer, a descendant of the Duke of York. But Parliament confirmed the claim of Henry, son of the Duke of Lancaster: hence the title, House of Lancaster.

Such a beginning naturally led to a troubled reign. Owen Glendower of Wales joined the Percy party against Henry. The motives in both cases were personal rather than political, but the rebellion was

<sup>1</sup> Dethroned 1461.

<sup>2</sup> Reigned two months.

not the less formidable on that account. Henry Percy was Shakespeare's Hotspur of the North,—“he that kills me some six or seven dozen Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife, ‘Fie upon this quiet life.’” At the battle of Shrewsbury (where Falstaff fought his long hour by Shrewsbury clock), the rebellion was finally crushed, though its seeds were destined to come up later, in another form,—in the Wars of the Roses.

During this reign, the first law was passed sending heretics to the stake; and William Sautry, a London clergyman, the English proto-martyr, was burned for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. Sautry's death was followed by a general persecution of the Lollards, partly for heresy and partly because they had identified themselves, in many cases, with the serfs in the attack on property. In Macaulay's judgment, had the Lollards of that day been successful and overthrown the Church of Rome, the vacant space would have been occupied by some system still more corrupt.

Henry V.,  
1413-1422. Determined to unite the divided realm left him by his unhappy father, Henry made war on France. With nine thousand men he met the enemy, sixty thousand strong, at Agincourt. To the wish of one of his nobles, that they had brought a larger force from England, he replied:—

“ . . . No, my fair cousin ;  
If we are marked to die, we are enough  
To do our country loss ; and if to live,  
The fewer men, the greater share of honor.”<sup>1</sup>

Again the yeomen with their bows decided the day ; for France had no yeomen, and therefore no bowmen ; and so complete was the defeat that a treaty was signed declaring, on the part of Charles VI., that at his death his realm should be united to the English crown.

Henry VI.,  
1421-1471.<sup>2</sup> The heir to all this glory was an infant son, crowned king of England and France at Paris, and acknowledged as Henry Sixth of England, and a few months later recrowned at St. Paul's, London. But the time had come when France, in the person of the brave peasant-maid, Joan of Arc, was to regain her own once more. The English, under the Duke of Bedford, Henry's uncle, had conquered town after town, until they had reached Orleans. If that fell, all would fall. But Joan, called, as she believed, by the Lord, and guided by heavenly voices, clad herself in white armor, and, inspiring her countrymen with her own courage, led them to victory. Later on she was basely deserted by her own people, captured by the English, and burned for witchcraft. But the noble work she had

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, Henry V.

<sup>2</sup> Dethroned 1461, died 1471.

begun did not die with her. The country was at last roused, and before the death of Henry VI., England had lost all possessions on the continent except a bare foot-hold at Calais.

When Henry came of age, his reign was not calculated to bring peace to the country. He had had a guardian during his minority—he needed one all his days. Gardiner says of him that “he was sometimes mad and sometimes sane, but unfortunately was not much wiser when sane than when mad.”

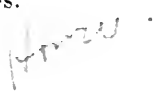
In 1450 the insurrection of Jack Cade broke out. This rebellion was purely political, as Wat Tyler’s, in 1381, had been purely social. Cade’s complaint, to use his own words, was “that the people of the shire are not allowed to have free election in the choosing of knights for the shire, but the tenants are forced to choose other people than the common will is.” Cade, with a body of twenty thousand men, entered London, and, in Shakespeare’s account, is represented as striking his staff on London Stone,—a Roman monument, still standing, which marked the centre of the city,—and saying, “Now is Mortimer lord of this city, and here, sitting upon London Stone, I charge and command, that at the city’s cost, this conduit run nothing but claret wine this first year of our reign ;

and now it shall be treason for any man to call me other than Lord Mortimer.”<sup>1</sup>

It is worthy of remark that here, as elsewhere in his historical plays, the great dramatist expresses no sympathy with the cause of the people. In his “King John” and “Richard II.,” he passes over Magna Carta and Wat Tyler without a word; and he mentions Cade only to ridicule him and his movement. The explanation of this lies, perhaps, in the fact that Shakespeare lived in an age when England was threatened by both open and secret enemies. The need of the time was a strong, steady hand at the helm; it was no season for reform or change of any sort. It may be for this reason he was silent in regard to democratic risings and popular demands in the past.

With 1455 we enter on the long and dreary period of civil strife known as the Wars of the Roses. The English barons, having lost France, began to plunder one another; and as the realm to which they were now confined was too small to be subdivided, a war of extermination ensued. In the beginning, the deposition of Richard I. furnished a plausible pretext for hostilities. One party fought, ostensibly, to re-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mortimer, as representative of a branch of the House of York, laid claim to the crown. Cade usurped his name for effect. See Holinshed's Chronicles.





instate that king's descendants, the other to keep Henry VI. and his descendants in power; one maintained the rights of hereditary descent; the other, the right of parliament to make free choice. But beneath the surface the real contest was not for principle, but for place and spoils. Shakespeare makes the feud between the great Houses of Lancaster and York break out into an angry quarrel in the Temple-garden in London, when Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, says:—

“Let him that is a true-born gentleman,  
And stands upon the honor of his birth,  
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,  
From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.”

To which John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, representative of the House of Lancaster, replies:—

“Let him that is no coward, nor no flatterer,  
But dare maintain the party of the truth,  
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me,”

The Earl of Warwick rejoins:—

“This brawl to-day,  
Grown to this faction in the Temple-gardens,  
Shall send, between the red rose and the white,  
A thousand souls to death and deadly night.”

The war, from the first battle of St. Albans to the last at Bosworth Field, continued through a period of

thirty years. The battles as they went on grew more and more sanguinary. At last no quarter was asked or given. Eighty princes of the blood-royal perished, and more than half of all the nobility. Of those who escaped death by the sword, many died on the scaffold, while the remnant who were saved renewed their sufferings in foreign lands. Fenn, in his letters, says, "I, myself, saw the Duke of Exeter, the king of England's brother-in-law, walking bare-foot in the Duke of Burgundy's train, and begging his bread from door to door." Every individual of two generations of the families of Somerset and Warwick fell on the field or on the scaffold. In tracing family pedigrees one is surprised how often the record reads, "killed at St. Albans," "slain at Towton," "beheaded after the battle of Wakefield," and the like. When the terrible contest was closed, the old feudal order was gone; and as in most cases their estates either fell to the crown for lack of heirs, or were fraudulently seized by the king's officers, it followed that a large part of the wealthiest and most powerful nobility in the world disappeared so completely that from that time they ceased to have a local habitation or a name.

Edward IV.      At the battle of Wakefield, in 1460, the  
(House of      Lancastrian party gained the day, and the  
York),  
1461-1483.      Duke of York's head, with a paper crown,

was fastened in mockery over the gate of York. But the next year the king's party was defeated with great slaughter, at Towton, and the Earl of Warwick, thenceforth popularly known as "the king-maker," placed Edward, the eldest son of the Duke of York, on the throne; while Henry, taken prisoner, was hurried off to the Tower. During the whole of Edward's reign, the war went on with varying success, but with unvarying ferocity.

The Earl who had raised Edward up, ten years later thrust him down, and restored Henry VI.; but at the battle of Barnet, Warwick was slain, and Edward obtained the throne again, while Henry, led back to the Tower, died "one of those conveniently sudden deaths" which were then so common.

But an event was at hand of greater importance than any question of crowns or parties, though its full significance was not recognized at the time. William Caxton, a London merchant, having, while in Holland, learned the new art of printing, returned to England, and set up a small press in the almonry of Westminster abbey, where "at the sign of the red pole" he advertised his wares, "good chepe." There he published the first book that issued from the press in England, "the dictes or sayengis of the philosophres, enprynted by me, William Caxton, at Westmestre, the yere of our lorde, M.CCCC.LXVII." Re-

cently a memorial window has been placed in St. Margaret's church, within the abbey-grounds, as a tribute to the man, who, while the country was red with carnage and filled with destruction, introduced the "art preservative of all arts."

Edward V.,      At his death, Edward IV. left a son  
1483-1483.      Edward. The lad was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Duke of Gloucester, who was named Protector to rule in his nephew's stead, until he became of age. The young prince and his brother, the Duke of York, were murdered in the Tower by his command, in order that he might take the throne.

Richard III.,      Mr. Gairdner, in his life of King Rich-  
1483-1485.      ard, says that he began gathering material for the work, in the belief that Richard had been misrepresented; but that after several years, spent in patient research, he is obliged to confess that redeeming traits do not appear. We must then believe that the last of the kings of the house of York was indeed the repulsive personage which tradition represents—distorted in figure, of forbidding aspect, and with ambition so unrestrained that the words which Shakespeare attributes to him may have been really his:—

"Then since the heavens have shaped my body so,  
Let hell make crookt my mind to answer it."

Personally he was brave. He promoted some useful reforms, and he encouraged Caxton in his great work; but fortunately his reign was short. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, a descendant, through his mother, of the house of Lancaster, was in Brittany awaiting his opportunity to invade England and claim the crown. In 1485, he landed with a small force at Milford Haven, south Wales, where he was sure of welcome, because his paternal ancestry were Welsh. Advancing through Shrewsbury, he met Richard on Bosworth Field in Leicestershire. The treachery of some of Richard's adherents decided the day. "Uttering a cry of 'treason! treason!' as he saw himself deserted, Richard dashed into the fight. With the fury of despair, he flung the Lancastrian standard to the ground, and had hewed his way into the very presence of his rival, when he fell, overpowered by numbers; and the crown which he had worn, which after the struggle was found lying near a hawthorn bush, was placed on the head of the conqueror."

## VIII.

“One half her soil has walked the rest  
In heroes, martyrs, poets, sages.”

O. W. HOLMES.



POLITICAL REACTION.—ABSOLUTISM OF THE CROWN.  
—THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND THE ENGLISH  
RENAISSANCE.

## CROWN OR POPE?

HOUSE OF TUDOR, 1485–1603.

Henry VII.,  
1485–1509. BEFORE leaving France, Henry had promised to marry Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., thus uniting the rival Houses of York and Lancaster, and by this means putting an end to the civil war. The marriage was duly celebrated, and in the beautiful window of stained glass in Henry Seventh's Chapel in Westminster abbey, the roses are seen joined, and as is quaintly said in the old rhyme :—

“Both roses flourish — red and white —  
In love and sisterly delight ;  
The two that were at strife are blended,  
And all old troubles now are ended.”

With the union, peace indeed came. The chief nobles were, with few exceptions, dead ; their estates

confiscated; their retainers scattered. The small number that remained were no longer to be feared. The introduction of cannon had changed the art of war. "Throughout the middle ages, the call of a great baron had been enough to raise a formidable revolt. Yeomen and retainers took down the bow from their chimney corner, knights buckled on their armor; and in a few days an army threatened the throne. But without artillery such an army was now helpless; and the one train of artillery in the kingdom lay at the disposal of the king."<sup>1</sup>

Henry's reign was in the interest of the middle classes. He gave them the protection they had so long wanted. In order to raise money without resort to taxation, he extorted large sums from the rich, by a device of his chief minister, Cardinal Morton, and which was known and dreaded as "Morton's Fork." If a person lived handsomely, the cardinal would insist on a correspondingly liberal gift; if, on the other hand, a citizen lived very plainly, he insisted none the less, since he argued that, by his economy, he must have accumulated means to bestow the "benevolence," as the extortion was, somewhat ironically, termed. Thus, on the one prong or the other of his "fork," the shrewd cardinal impaled his writhing victims, and speedily filled the royal treasury.

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay.

Another method of raising money, while it also rendered the king more secure, was a revival of the statute of Liveries, which imposed a heavy fine on noblemen who clothed their followers in military garb, or designated them with a badge of military service. Said the king to the Earl of Oxford, as he left the earl's castle where a large number of liveried servants were drawn up to do him honor, "My lord, I thank you for your entertainment, but my attorney must speak to you." The attorney, who was the notorious Empson, brought suit against the earl, and he was fined ten thousand pounds for violation of the law.

During Henry's reign two pretenders laid claim to the crown, — Lambert Symnel, who represented himself to be Edward Plantagenet, son to the Duke of Clarence; and Perkin Warbeck, who asserted that he was Richard, Duke of York. Symnel commuted his claim for the position of scullion in the king's kitchen, while Warbeck, who showed himself of less tractable disposition, was hanged.

Emerson remarks that when the visitor to Westminster abbey mounts the steps at the eastern end leading to Henry Seventh's Chapel, he passes from the mediæval to the beginning of the modern period. The true significance of Henry's reign is that it distinctly marks that change. It is the threshold of



a new epoch;—new in modes of government, in law, in discovery, in letters, art and religion. The century just closing was one of the most remarkable in history. Not indeed in what it had actually accomplished, but for the seed it had sown for the future. The artist Kaulbach, in his fresco “The Age of the Reformation,” has summed up all that it was and all that it was to become in its full development. Therein, we see it as the century which witnessed the sailing of Columbus and of Cabot; the introduction of fire-arms, and the consequent overthrow of feudal warfare and feudal institutions; the revival of classic learning; the issue of the first printed book; and the birth of that German monk who was to emancipate the human mind from its long bondage to unmeaning tradition and to arbitrary authority.

**HENRY VIII.,** Henry was just eighteen years of age  
1509-1547. when he came to the throne. The country was at peace, was highly prosperous, and the young king had everything in his favor. He was handsome, well-educated, and fond of athletic sports. His frank disposition won friends, and he had inherited from his father the largest private fortune that had ever descended to an English sovereign. Intellectually, he was in hearty sympathy with the revival of learning, which was then beginning both on the continent and in England. He showed himself a firm

friend to Dean Colet in his educational reforms, saying, "Let others have what doctors they like; this is the doctor for me."

He encouraged Erasmus in his great work of translating the Greek Testament. He founded Trinity College, Cambridge; and he confirmed Wolsey's endowments at Oxford. Yet he continued to be a staunch Romanist; and his reply to Luther so delighted the pope, that he conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith"; and sent to him the two-handed sword, destined to be the symbol of the king's final separation from the power that gave it.

Politically, Henry was equally fortunate. The victory of Flodden had placed Scotland at his feet. The king of France and the Emperor Charles V. vied with each other in seeking his alliance, for Henry held the balance of power between them, and it was owing to his policy that England advanced from a third-rate power to one fully abreast of the foremost nations of Europe.

In less than twenty years the king had become another man. At the age of twelve he had married, at his father's command, and solely for political and mercenary reasons, Katharine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow, who was six years his senior. Such a marriage was forbidden, both by

the Mosaic law and by the ordinances of the Church; but the pope had sanctioned it, and when Henry ascended the throne the ceremony was performed a second time. Several children were the fruit of this union; but all died in infancy, except one daughter,—Mary, unhappily fated to figure as the “bloody Mary” of later history.

No woman had yet ruled in her own right, either in England or in Europe, and so anxious was Henry to have a son to succeed him, that he had, several years before, sent the Duke of Buckingham to the block for casually saying that if the king died without issue, he should consider himself entitled to receive the crown.

It was while meditating this question of the succession, that Henry met Anne Boleyn, one of the queen’s maids of honor, a sprightly brunette of nineteen, with long black hair and beautiful eyes. The light that shone in those eyes, though hardly that “gospel light” which the poet calls it, cleared up all difficulties in the royal mind. The king now felt conscientiously moved to obtain a divorce from the old wife and to marry a new one. In that determination lay most momentous consequences, for it forever separated England from the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome.

Cardinal Wolsey lent his powerful aid to bring

about the divorce, but with the expectation that Henry would marry a princess of France, and thus form an alliance with that country. When he learned that the king's choice was Anne Boleyn, he fell on his knees, and begged him not to persist in his design; but his entreaties had no effect, and the cardinal was obliged to continue what he had begun.

Application had been made to the pope to annul the marriage with Katharine, on the ground of illegality; but the pope was in the power of Charles V., who was the queen's nephew. Hence vexatious delays became the rule of the day. At last, a court, composed of Wolsey and Campeggio, as papal legates, was convened at Blackfriars, London, to test the validity of the marriage. Henry and Katharine were summoned. The king appeared and answered to his name; but Katharine, when called, declined to answer, and, throwing herself at Henry's feet, begged him, with tears and sobs, not to put her away without a cause. Finding him inflexible, she left the hall, and refused to attend again, appealing to Rome for justice.

This was in the spring of 1529. Nothing was done that summer, and in the autumn the court, instead of reaching a decision, dissolved. Campeggio, the Italian legate, returned; and Henry,

•

to his disappointment and rage, received an order to carry the question to the pope for settlement.

Both the king and Anne believed that Wolsey had played false with them, and they resolved upon his fall. The cardinal had a presentiment of his impending doom. The French ambassador, who saw him at this juncture, said that his face had shrunk to half its size. But his fortunes were to shrink even more than his face. To save himself, Wolsey gave up everything;—his pomp, power and wealth vanished in a moment. Well might he say of Anne:

“There was the weight that pulled me down.

. . . All my glories, in that one woman I have lost  
forever.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus stripped, he was permitted to go into retirement in the North; but a twelvemonth later he was arrested on a charge of treason. On the way to London he fell mortally ill, and turned aside at Leicester to die in the abbey there.

“ . . . O, Father Abbot,

An old man, broken with the storms of state,

Is come to lay his weary bones among ye:

Give him a little earth for charity!”<sup>2</sup>

After Wolsey's death, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, of Cambridge, suggested that the king lay the divorce

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, Henry VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

question before the universities of Europe. Henry caught eagerly at this proposition, and exclaimed, "Cranmer has the right sow by the ear." The scheme was at once adopted. Several universities returned favorable answers; in a few instances, as at Oxford and Cambridge, where there was hesitation, a judicious use of bribes or threats brought them to see the matter in a proper light.

Armed with these decisions in his favor, Henry now charged the whole body of the English clergy with being guilty of the same crime of which Wolsey had been accused.<sup>1</sup> In their terror, they made haste to buy a pardon, at a cost reckoned at nearly a million of pounds at the present value of money; and, furthermore, declared Henry to be the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, adroitly adding, "in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ." Thus, as Taine wittily observes, the Reformation came into England by a side-door. Nevertheless it came.

Events now moved rapidly to a crisis. Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's former servant and fast friend, succeeded him in the king's favor, and became vicar-general. In 1533, after having waited over five years, Henry privately married Anne, and she was, soon after, crowned in Westminster abbey. When the pope was informed of this, he ordered the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, "Præmunire," see Section XII. 18.

king to put her away, and take back Katharine. Parliament met the demand by passing the act of supremacy, which declared, without reservation, Henry to be the sole head of the Church, and making denial thereof treason. As he signed the act, the king, with one stroke of his pen, overturned the tradition of a thousand years; and England stood boldly forth independent of the pope.

But, as Luther said, Henry had a pope inside him. With Cromwell's aid he proceeded to prove it. Now that the Wars of the Roses had destroyed the power of the barons, there was no check on the despotic will of the king. Parliament was but the echo of the throne. It had already empowered the king to annul all legislative acts passed before he was of age, and to choose his successor to the throne. It now enacted that law which was in itself the destruction of all law, by which the king, by his simple proclamation could declare any opinions heretical and punishable with death. Cromwell, in his machiavelian policy, "had reduced bloodshed to a science." He first introduced the practice of condemning an accused person without hearing his defence. No one was now safe who did not openly side with the king. More and Fisher were executed because they could not affirm that they conscientiously believed that Henry was morally and spiritually entitled to be the head of the English Church.

When the intelligence of the judicial murder of the venerable ex-chancellor reached Rome, the pope issued a bull of excommunication and deposition against Henry, delivering his soul to the devil and his kingdom to the first invader. The king retorted by suppressing the monasteries, which, in most cases, had sunk into the lowest state of ignorance, drunkenness and profligacy.

Their vices, however, the king had already made his own. It was their wealth which he now coveted. The smaller religious houses were speedily swept out of existence, but Parliament hesitated at abolishing the greater ones. Henry, it is reported, sent for a leading member of the commons, and, laying his hand on the head of the kneeling representative, said, "Get my bill passed by to-morrow, little man, or else to-morrow this head of yours will be off." The next day the bill passed, and the work of destruction was completed, — a work which involved the confiscation of millions of property, and the summary execution of abbots who, like those of Glastonbury and Charterhouse, dared to resist.

The great estates, thus suddenly acquired by the crown, were granted to court favorites, or thrown away at the gambling-table. It is from this date, says Hallam, that the leading families of England, both within and without the peerage, become con-



spicuous through having obtained possession of the monastery lands, estimated to comprise one-fifth of the whole area of the kingdom.

The abolition of so many religious institutions necessarily caused great misery to those who were turned out upon the world, destitute of means and without ability to work. To this should be added the fact that for a long period an industrial revolution had been in progress, which was productive of wide-spread suffering.

Farmers, having discovered that wool-growing was more profitable than grain-raising, had turned their fields into sheep-pastures; so that a shepherd, with his dog, now took the place of several families of laborers; thereby, multitudes of poor people were reduced to the verge of starvation, and as the monasteries no longer existed to hold out a helping hand to the needy, the whole realm was so overrun with beggars and thieves, that Latimer declared that, if every farmer should raise two acres of hemp, it would not make rope enough to hang them all. Henry, however, set to work with characteristic vigor, and, it is said, made way with upwards of seventy-two thousand during his reign, but without abating the evil.

In 1536, less than three years after her coronation, the new queen, for whom Henry had "turned England and Europe upside down," was accused of un-

faithfulness. She was sent, a prisoner, to the tower, and, a short time after, her head rolled in the dust—its beauty gone out forever. The next morning Henry married Jane Seymour, Anne's maid of honor. A year later she died, leaving a son,—Edward. She was no sooner gone than the king began looking about for some one to take her place. This time Cromwell had projects of his own, for a German Protestant alliance, and succeeded in persuading his master to agree to marry Ann of Cleves, whom he had never seen, but whom the painter, Holbein, had represented as of marvellous beauty.

When Ann reached England, Henry hurried to meet her, but found, to his dismay, that not only was she ridiculously ugly, but that she could speak nothing but Dutch, of which he did not understand a word. His disgust must be imagined—not described. Matters, however, had gone too far to retract, and the marriage was consummated. The king obtained a divorce within six months, and then took his revenge by cutting off Cromwell's head.

The same year, 1540, Henry married Catherine Howard. Not long after, she was accused of the fault for which Anne Boleyn had suffered, and met with like fate. Not to be baffled in his matrimonial experiments, the king, in 1543, took Catherine Parr for his sixth, and, as it proved, his last, wife.

She, too, would have gone to the block, on a charge of heresy, had not her quick wit saved her by a happily turned compliment which flattered the king's theological acumen.

Though occupied with these rather numerous domestic infelicities, Henry was not idle in other directions. By a bill known as the Six Articles,<sup>1</sup> or, as the Protestants called it, the Bloody Act, the king had established a new form of religion which was simply papacy with the pope left out. Geographically, the country was perhaps about equally divided between Romanism and Protestantism. The northern and western half clung to the ancient faith; the southern and eastern, including most of the large cities, was favorable to the reformation. Henry did not throw his influence on either side, but made concessions to both. On the one hand, he prohibited the Lutheran doctrines; on the other, he caused the Bible to be translated, and ordered a copy to be placed in every parish-church in England. Men found themselves in a strange and cruel dilemma. If it was dangerous to believe too much, it was not less dangerous to believe too little. Traitor and heretic were dragged to execution on the same hurdle — the one a Catholic who denied the king's supremacy; the other, a Protestant who refused to believe in transubstantiation.

<sup>1</sup> See Section XII. 23.

But the time was at hand when Henry was to cease his hangings, beheadings, and marriages. Worn out with debauchery, he died at the age of fifty-six, a loathsome and helpless mass of corruption. Raleigh said of him, "If all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted to the life out of the story of this king." It may be well to remember this, and with it this other saying of the ablest living writer on English constitutional history, that "the world owes some of its greatest debts to men from whose memory it recoils." The obligation it is under to Henry Eighth, is, that through his influence—no matter what the motive—England was lifted up out of the old rut of Romanism, and placed squarely and securely on the highway of national progress.

Edward VI., Edward, son of Henry by Jane Seymour, 1547-1553, died at sixteen. During his nominal reign of six years, the government, says Professor Gardiner, was managed by a handful of religious theorists, and a band of greedy and profligate courtiers, who seized the unenclosed land and fenced it in for sheep pastures, thus depriving thousands of the means of subsistence.

Edward was a zealous Protestant, and, at his desire, Archbishop Cranmer compiled the Book of Common Prayer. The articles of faith of the

Church of England were also drawn up at this time. The confiscation of Roman Catholic church property<sup>1</sup> was continued, and a part of the money thus obtained was eventually devoted to the endowment of grammar schools and hospitals in different parts of the country. On his death-bed Edward established Christ Church School, and St. Thomas Hospital, London. "So he was the founder," says Burnet, "of those houses which, by many great additions since that time, have risen to be amongst the noblest in Europe." Christ Church was the first, or one of the first Protestant charity schools opened in England, and it is generally known as the Blue-Coat school, from the costume of the boys — a relic of the days of Edward. This consists of a long blue coat, like a monk's gown, reaching to the ankles, girded with a broad leathern belt, long, bright-yellow stockings and buckled shoes. As a rule, the boys go bare-headed, winter and summer. An exciting game of foot-ball, played in the school-yard in this peculiar, mediæval dress, seems a startling anachronism, and is a sight long to be remembered. Coleridge, Lamb, and other noted men were educated here, and have left most interesting reminiscences of their school life.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, chantries and churches were now seized.

<sup>2</sup> See Lamb's Essays on Christ-Church Hospital.

Speaking of the Reformation, of which Edward VI. may be taken as a representative, Macaulay remarks that it is difficult to say whether England has received most advantage from the Roman Catholic religion or from the Reformation. For the amalgamation of races, and the abolition of villanage, she is chiefly indebted to the influences which the priesthood in the middle ages exercised over the laity. For political and intellectual freedom, and for all the blessings which these have brought in their train, she is chiefly indebted to the great rebellion of the laity against the priesthood.

Mary, Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and 1553-1558. Katharine of Aragon. On the death of Edward, Lady Jane Grey was persuaded against her judgment to assume the crown left to her by the will of the late king, who earnestly desired to have a Protestant successor, although Mary, who was an avowed Romanist, was the rightful heir. Mary, however, received the support of the country; and Lady Jane and her husband, Lord Dudley, were sent to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold. The name JANE, cut in the stone wall of the Beauchamp tower, remains as a memorial of "the ten days' queen," who died at the age of seventeen, an innocent victim of the greatness which had been thrust upon her.

In the year following her accession, Mary married Philip II. of Spain, a gloomy and selfish fanatic, who cared for nothing but the spread of Romanism. He soon found that the air of England had too much freedom in it to suit his constitution, and he returned to the more congenial climate of Spain. From that time, Mary, who was left to rule alone, directed all her effort toward the restoration of the Catholic Church. The legislation of Henry VIII.'s and of Edward's reign, so far as it gave support to Protestantism, was repealed, and the old relations with Rome were resumed. To accomplish her object, the queen resorted to the arguments of the dungeon, the rack and the fagot. In that age, religious toleration was unknown. Mary would, doubtless, have bravely endured for her faith the full measure of suffering which she inflicted. Her state of mind was that of all who hold strong convictions. Each faction believed it a duty to convert or exterminate the other; and the alternative offered to a heretic was to "turn or burn."

Cranmer, who perished at Oxford, had been zealous in sending to the flames those who differed from him. Sir Thomas More, who gave his life as a sacrifice to conscience, was eager to put Tyndale to the torture, for translating the Bible. Latimer, who died bravely exhorting his companion, Ridley,

to "be of good cheer, and play the man, since" as he declared, "they would light such a candle in England that day, as in God's grace should not be put out," had himself abetted the kindling of slow fires under men as honest and as determined as he was, but on the opposite side. In like spirit, Mary kept Smithfield ablaze with martyrs, whose blood was the seed of Protestantism.

But Mary's career was brief. She died in 1558, shortly after the close of an inglorious war with France, which ended in the fall of Calais, the last English possession on the soil of France. It was a great blow to her pride and a humiliation to the country. "After my death," she said, "you will find *Calais* written on my heart;" could she have foreseen the future, her grief would have been greater still, for with the close of her reign, the pope lost all power in England, never to regain it.

Mary's name has come to us coupled with an epithet expressive of the utmost abhorrence. But she deserves pity rather than hatred. Her cruelty was the cruelty of sincerity, never, as was her father's, the result of indifference or caprice. A little book of prayers, left by her, soiled by constant use, and stained with many tears, tells the story of her broken, disappointed life. Sickly, ill-favored, childless, unloved, the poor woman spent herself for



naught. Her first great mistake was that she resolutely turned her face toward the past; her second, that she loved Philip of Spain with all her heart, soul, and strength, and so, out of devotion to a bigot, she did a bigot's work, and earned the execration which is a bigot's reward.

Elizabeth, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and 1558-1603. Anne Boleyn. When the news of Mary's death was brought to Elizabeth, at Hatfield house, she was greatly moved, and exclaimed, "It is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes." Her policy from the beginning was one of compromise. In order to conciliate the Catholic party, she retained eleven of her sister's counsellors, and added to them Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil, with others who were favorable to the reformed faith.

Mary, beside having repealed the legislation of the two preceding reigns, in so far as it was opposed to her own religious convictions, also had suppressed Edward's liturgy and restored the Latin Mass-book. At Elizabeth's coronation a petition was presented, stating that it was the custom to release a certain number of prisoners on such occasions; therefore, her majesty was begged to set at liberty the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and also the apostle Paul, who had been for some time shut up in a strange language. The English ser-

vice-book, with some slight changes, was accordingly re-instated, and the Act of Uniformity,<sup>1</sup> enacted soon after, required English clergymen, under penalty of imprisonment for life, to use it, and it only; while the same act imposed a fine on all persons who failed to attend the Church of England on Sundays and holidays.

No sooner was the queen's accession announced to the pope, than he declared her illegitimate, and ordered her to lay aside the crown and submit entirely to his guidance. Such a demand was a signal for battle, and however much attached a large part of the nation, especially of the country people, may have been to the religion of their fathers, the temper of Parliament manifested itself in the immediate passage of the Act of Supremacy,<sup>2</sup> which was essentially the same, "though with its edge slightly blunted," which, under Henry, had freed England from the dominion of the court of Rome.

To this act every member of the Commons was obliged to subscribe, thus excluding all Catholics, but the Lords, not being an elective body, were excused from the obligation. A few years later the creed of the English Church, which had been first formulated under Edward VI., was revised and reduced to the Thirty-Nine Articles which constitute it at the present time.

But the real value of the religious revolution

<sup>1</sup> See Section XII. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See Section XII. 27.

which was taking place did not lie in the substitution of one creed for another, but in the new spirit of inquiry and the new freedom of thought and discussion awakened by the change.<sup>1</sup>

As for Elizabeth herself, she apparently had no deep and abiding convictions on these matters. Her tendency was toward Protestantism, but to the end of her life she remained Catholic in her nerves; a crucifix with lighted candles in front of it hung in her private chapel, before which the queen prayed to the Virgin as fervently as her sister Mary had ever done.

In this double course she represented the nation, which hesitated about committing itself fully to either side. Men were not wanting who were ready to lay down their lives for conscience' sake; but they were in the minority. Many sympathized at heart with the notorious Vicar of Bray, who kept his living under the successive reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, changing his theology with each change of rulers, and who, when stigmatized as a turncoat, replied, "Not so; for I have always been true to my principles, which are to live and die the Vicar of Bray."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Green's English People.

<sup>2</sup> "For this as law I will maintain  
Until my dying day, sir,  
That whatsoever king shall reign,  
I'll be Vicar of Bray, sir."

Though there was nothing morally noble in such "halting between two opinions," yet it doubtless saved England, for the time being, from that worst of all calamities, a religious civil war, such as rent France in pieces and drenched her fair fields with the blood of Catholics and Huguenots; split Germany and Italy into petty states; and ended, in Spain, in the triumph of the Inquisition, and intellectual death.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth showed the same consummate tact with regard to marriage as respecting worship. Her first parliament begged her to consider the question of taking a husband. Her reply was that she had resolved to live and die a maiden queen. Still pressed, she returned answers that, like the ancient oracles, could be interpreted either way. Philip of Spain, who had married her sister Mary, made overtures to her, and she kept him waiting in uncertainty until at last his ambassador lost all patience, and declared that she had ten thousand devils in her. The Duke of Alençon proposed, and was so favorably received, that the country became alarmed at the prospect of having a Catholic king, and Stubbs, a Puritan lawyer, published a coarse and violent pamphlet against it. For this attack his right hand was cut off, and as it fell, he seized his hat with the remain-

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, English History.

ing hand and waved it, shouting, "God save Queen Elizabeth." That action was an index to the popular feeling. Men stood by the crown even when they condemned its policy, determined at all hazards to preserve the unity of the nation.

During all this time the court buzzed with whispered scandals. Elizabeth was a confirmed coquette. Dudley and Essex and Raleigh were by turns her favorites, and over her relations with the first there hangs the terrible shadow of the murder of his wife,<sup>1</sup> the beautiful Amy Robsart. Her vanity was as insatiable as it was ludicrous. She issued a proclamation forbidding any one to make or sell her picture, lest it should fail to do her justice. She was greedy of flattery, even when long past sixty; and there was a sting of truth in the letter of Mary, queen of Scots, to her saying, "Your aversion to marriage proceeds from your not wishing to lose the liberty of compelling people to make love to you."

She lived in an atmosphere of splendor, of pleasure and of adulation. Her reign was full of pageants, progresses and feasts like those which Scott describes in his delightful novel, "Kenilworth." In temper Elizabeth was arbitrary, fickle and passionate. When her blood was up she would swear like a trooper, spit on a courtier's new velvet doublet, beat her

<sup>1</sup> See the De Quadra letter in Froude.

maids of honor, or box Essex's ears. She wrote abusive and profane letters to high church dignitaries, and openly insulted the wife of Archbishop Parker, because she did not believe in a married clergy. In her diplomatic relations she never hesitated at a lie if it would serve her purpose; and when the falsehood was discovered, she had another ready to take its place.

The queen, as Dr. Johnson said, possessed learning enough to give dignity to a bishop, but her great ability lay in her intuitive perception of the needs of the age, and in her power of self-adjustment to them. She seemed to know an able man at sight, and she knew also how to attach him to her service. Probably no sovereign ever had such a body of statesmen as her advisers, — such men as Cecil and Bacon and Walsingham. By their wise counsel she was able to weather all storms. It has been said that the next best thing to having a good rule is to understand when to break it. Elizabeth carried out this principle. Self-willed as she was, she saw the point where self-will became dangerous, and stopped. In her intercourse with Parliament she conceded even the monopolies of trade with which she had rewarded her favorites, when she found it inexpedient to keep them.

Never was a ruler so popular and so praised. Spenser, Raleigh, Sidney, and Shakespeare united in

compliments to her beauty, her wisdom, and her wit. She was the "Gloriana" of the Faery Queen; the "bright and occidental star" of the prayer-book and the Bible; the "fair vestal in the West" of *Midsummer-Night's Dream*; and the "good Queen Bess" of the people. After her death at Greenwich, when her body was being conveyed up the Thames to Westminster, an extravagant eulogist declared that the very fishes that followed the funeral-barge "wept out their eyes and swam blind after!"

The reign of Elizabeth was in fact Europe's grandest age. It was a time when everything was bursting into life and color. The world had suddenly grown larger. It had opened toward the East in the revival of classic learning, it had opened toward the West and disclosed a continent of unknown extent and unimaginable resources. More's fiction of "Utopia" seemed about to become real. It was an age of adventure, of poetry, of luxury, and of rapidly increasing wealth. When men looked across the Atlantic, their imaginations were stimulated, and no hopes appeared too good to be true. They dreamed of fountains of youth in Florida, of mines of gold in Brazil, of rivers whose pebbles were precious stones in Virginia. England, too, was undergoing transformation. Men were no longer content to live shut up in sombre castles, surrounded with moats of stagnant water, or in wretched hovels

where the smoke curled round the rafters and the wind whistled through the unglazed lattice windows. Mansion and manor houses like Hatfield, Knowle and the "Bracebridge Hall"<sup>1</sup> of Washington Irving, rose instead of castles; and hospitality—not exclusion—became the prevailing custom. The introduction of chimneys brought the cheery comfort of the English fireside; while, among the wealthy, carpets, tapestry, and silver plate took the place of floors strewn with rushes, of bare walls, and of tables covered with pewter dishes.

An old writer, lamenting the innovation, says, "When our houses were built of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are of oak, our men are not only become willow, but many are altogether of straw, which is a sore affliction." But they were not all of straw; for that was the period when Chapman was translating the "Iliad," Spenser writing the "Faery Queen," Bacon meditating the "Inductive Philosophy," Shakespeare creating "Hamlet," Raleigh planting colonies in America, Drake "boldly singeing the beard of the king of Spain," or circumnavigating the globe with his little fleet; and Sidney fighting the League in the Netherlands, and giving his life for liberty.

For England it was also an age of great and constant peril. Elizabeth's entire reign was under-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, Aston Hall, Aston Park, in the suburbs of Birmingham.



mined with plots against her life and against the Protestant faith. No sooner was one detected and frustrated, than a new conspiracy began. From the outset, Mary, queen of Scots, had asserted her claim to the English crown, and had quartered the arms of England on her escutcheon. After her flight from Scotland, and while held as a political prisoner, she was found to be implicated in a plan for assassinating the queen and seizing the reins of government in behalf of the Jesuits and Rome.

William the Silent had fallen a victim to a similar plot; and Elizabeth, roused to a sense of her danger, reluctantly signed her death-warrant, and Mary was beheaded at Fotheringhay Castle. As soon as the news of her execution was brought to the queen, she acted with her usual duplicity, bitterly upbraided the ministers who had advised it, and throwing Davidson, her secretary, into the Tower, fined him £10,000, the payment of which reduced him to beggary. Yet facts prove that not only had Elizabeth determined to put Mary to death, a measure every way justifiable, but that she had even suggested to her keeper that it might be expedient to have her privately murdered, either by poison, as the Earl of Leicester had once suggested, or in some other way.

Mary was hardly under ground when a new and

greater danger threatened the country. Philip of Spain, who had covered Holland with the graves of Protestants, butchered by Alva, or buried alive by order of the Inquisition, had determined to invade England, conquer it, and restore it to the pope. To accomplish this he fitted out the "Grand Armada," an immense fleet, carrying twenty thousand soldiers, and intended to receive reinforcements of thirty thousand more from the Spanish army in the Netherlands. The expedition was armed with twenty-five hundred cannon; and carried, it is said, shackles and instruments of torture to bind and punish the heretics whom its leader confidently expected to capture. When intelligence of these formidable preparations reached England, all parties, both Catholics and Protestants, rose and joined in defence of their country and their queen.

Elizabeth reviewed the forces that had gathered to fight for her and for liberty, and said to them, "Though I have but the feeble body of a woman, I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England, too." When the long-looked-for fleet appeared, moving toward the coast, in the form of a crescent seven miles in length, Drake was ready to receive them. With his fast-sailing cruisers he sailed round the unwieldy Spanish galleons, firing four shots to their one; and "harassing them as a swarm of wasps

would a bear." Several of the enemy's ships were captured; one blew up; and at last the commander thought best to make for Calais to repair damages, and to take a fresh start. The English followed. As soon as night came on, Drake sent eight blazing fire-ships to drift down among the Armada as it lay at anchor. Thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of being burned where they lay, the Spaniards cut their cables and made sail for the north, hotly pursued by Drake, who might have cut them to pieces, had not Elizabeth's parsimony stinted the supply of powder. The wind increased to a gale; the gale to a furious storm. As in such weather the Armada could not turn back, the commander attempted to go around Scotland, and return that way; but ship after ship was driven ashore and wrecked on the wild and rocky coast. On one strand, less than five miles long, over a thousand corpses were counted, while the men who escaped were put to death by the inhabitants. Eventually, only about one-third of the fleet, half-manned by crews stricken by pestilence and death, succeeded in reaching Spain. Thus ended Philip's boasted attack on England; and when all was over, Elizabeth went in state to St. Paul's, to offer thanks for the victory, afterward commemorated by a medal which she caused to be struck, bearing the inscription, "God blew with his winds, and they were scattered."

A few years later, Ireland, which had been half-vanquished by Henry II., and whose unfortunate people still remained semi-barbarians, submitted to the rule of England, — a barren victory which has proved a curse to both conqueror and conquered.

In 1601, the first effective poor-law was passed, requiring each parish to make provision for such paupers as were unable to work, while the able-bodied were compelled to labor for their own support. This measure relieved much of the distress which had prevailed during the two previous reigns, and is the basis of the law now enforced.

The death of the great queen in 1603 was as sad as her life had been brilliant. Her favorite Essex, Shakespeare's intimate friend,<sup>1</sup> had been executed for an attempted rebellion against her power. From that time she grew, as she said, "heavy hearted." Her friends and counsellors were dead, and her people no longer welcomed her appearance with their former enthusiasm. Her strength gradually declined. At length she lay silent, propped up on cushions on the floor, in the attitude in which Delaroche has painted her, "tired," as she said, "of reigning, and tired of life." In that sullen mood, and without naming a successor, she departed to

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Essex a marked change comes over Shakespeare's plays; Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth and Caesar give expression to his sorrow and his conviction that "the times are out of joint."

join that silent majority whose realm under earth is summed up in the two words, "hic jacet." "Four days afterward," says a writer of that day, "she was forgotten." One may see her tomb, with her full-length recumbent effigy, in the north aisle of Henry Seventh's chapel, and in the opposite aisle, the tomb and effigy of her old rival and enemy, Mary, queen of Scots; the sculptured features of both look placid — "after life's fitful fever they sleep well."

## IX.

“It is the nature of the devil of tyranny to tear and rend the body which he leaves.” — MACAULAY.



BEGINNING WITH THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND  
ENDING WITH THE DIVINE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE.

## KING OR PARLIAMENT?

THE RACE OF STUART, 1603-1649, 1660-1688, 1702-1714.

James I., 1603-1625.

Charles II., 1660-1685.

Charles I., 1625-1649.

James II., 1685-1688.

The Commonwealth and  
Protectorate, 1649-1660.

William & Mary, 1689-1702.  
Anne, 1702-1714.

JAMES was a man of small mind but of unbounded conceit. He had been educated, as the Duke of Wellington would say, beyond his intellect. He wrote on “kingcraft,” “witchcraft,” and “a counterblast” on that “Stygian weed,” tobacco, then recently introduced into England, along with the more useful potato, by Sir Walter Raleigh. One of the earliest acts of his reign was to obtain the passage of a bill punishing witches with death. Under this law, many a wretched woman perished on the scaffold, whose

only crime was that she was old, ugly, and friendless.

During Elizabeth's time that part of the population whose zeal in purifying the Protestant Church from all relics of popish rites, gained for them the name of *Puritans*, had been steadily increasing, so that Archbishop Whitgift said that he was amazed to find how "the vipers" had multiplied. On James's accession this body of believers presented a petition, bearing the names of over eight hundred ministers, asking that they might be permitted to dispense with the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, and the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony. The king convened a conference at Hampton Court, to consider the matter; or rather to make a pedantic display of his theological learning, for James had come from Scotland thoroughly disgusted with the Puritans and their demands; especially since one of their clergymen in Edinburgh had seized him by the sleeve at a public meeting, and called him, with only too much truth, "God's silly vassal."

James hated the Puritans because he believed that equality in the Church led to equality in the State." "No bishop, no king," was his theory. The Hampton Court conference only widened the breach between the established Church and the dissenters. After having declaimed against the petitioners with

an unction, which one enthusiastic bishop declared to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, James broke up the meeting with the angry exclamation, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land."

That rash threat, and the persecution which it initiated, produced results which were to influence profoundly the history not only of England, but New England as well. From that time certain farmers in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire,<sup>1</sup> becoming convinced that reform within the Church was impracticable, determined to leave it and to go forth as pilgrims to set up an independent Church. With much difficulty and suffering they succeeded in escaping to Holland; and in 1620 they set forth thence for that New World across the sea, which they hoped would redress the wrongs of the Old. Landing at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, they established a colony on the basis of "equal laws for the general good." Ten years later Winthrop followed with a small company, and settled Salem and Boston, and during the next decade twenty thousand Englishmen found a refuge in the west. But to the little band who embarked under Bradford and Brewster, in the *Mayflower*, the scene of whose landing at Plymouth is painted on the walls of the houses of parliament, be-

<sup>1</sup> Especially Scrooby, Yorkshire.



longs the credit of the great undertaking. Of that enterprise, one of their brethren in England wrote, in the time of their severest distress, with prophetic foresight, "Let it not be grievous to you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others: the honor shall be yours to the world's end."

As if with a desire of further alienating his people from him, James proclaimed the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. This theory, which was unknown to the English Constitution, declared that kings derive their power and right to rule directly from God, and in no way from the people.<sup>1</sup> "As it is atheism and blasphemy," he wrote, "to dispute what God can do, so it is a presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do."<sup>2</sup> All this would have been amusing, had it not been dangerous. With respect to the nation, James was like the dwarf, in the story, who, perched on the giant's shoulders, cries out, "See how big I am!"

Acting on this assumption, the king violated the privileges of the House of Commons, and imprisoned members who dared to criticise his course. The House protested, and the king seized the journal and tore out the record of the protest.

It was this arbitrary spirit that alarmed Catholics and Protestants alike; this alarm culminated in a plot

<sup>1</sup> "A Deo, rex; a rege, lex."    <sup>2</sup> "The true law of free monarchy."

on the part of Guy Fawkes and others, to blow up parliament house with gunpowder, at a time when the king was to be present. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators executed; but the feeling of dislike continued to grow until, in the next reign, it burst out into the blood-red blossom of civil war.

James, like all the Stuarts, suffered from a chronic lack of money. In order to get it, he sold peerages, created baronetcies, and as a last resort, compelled all persons who had an income of forty pounds or more derived from landed property, to accept knighthood or pay a heavy fine. This exaction was ridiculed by the wits of the time in the lines, —

“He that hath forty pounds per annum  
Shall be promoted from the plow;  
His wife shall take the wall of her grannum —  
Honor’s sold so dog-cheap now.”

In 1611, the revised edition of the English Bible was published and dedicated to the king. The encouragement which he had given to the work stands out as the one sensible act of his reign.

In 1618, Lord Chancellor Bacon was convicted by the House of Lords of having taken bribes in a chancery suit. He confessed the offence, but pleaded extenuating circumstances, adding, “I beseech your lordships be merciful unto a broken reed.” But Bacon had been too servile a tool of James, and no

mercy was to be granted. A heavy sentence was passed, of fine and imprisonment, which if fully executed, would have caused his utter ruin; but the king interposed, and his favorite escaped with a few days' confinement in the Tower.

With Sir Walter Raleigh the result was different. He had been a prisoner for several years, on an unfounded charge of conspiracy. Influenced by motives of cupidity, James released him to go on an expedition in search of gold to replenish the royal coffers. Raleigh's men, without his sanction, came into collision with the Spaniards on the coast of South America.<sup>1</sup> He failed in his enterprise, and brought back nothing. The Spanish king called on James for vengeance on a man against whom he had an old grudge. James revived the sentence passed on Raleigh fifteen years before, as a pretext for his execution. His real motive undoubtedly was the hope that by sacrificing Raleigh, he should secure the hand of the Spanish Infanta for his son Charles.

Raleigh died as More died, his last words a jest at death. His deeper feelings were expressed in the lines written the night before his judicial murder,—

“Even such is Time, that takes on trust  
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,

<sup>1</sup> The king had treacherously informed the Spanish ambassador of Raleigh's mission, and the collision was inevitable.

And pays us but with age and dust ;  
Who in the dark and silent grave,  
When we have wandered all our ways,  
Shuts up the story of our days.  
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,  
My God shall raise me up, I trust."

As for James, when he died, a victim to confirmed drunkenness and gluttony, the fittest epitaph would have been what the Duc de Sully called him, "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Charles I.,  
1625-1649. The doctrine of the "right divine of kings to govern wrong," so zealously put forth by James, bore its full and fatal fruit in the career of his son. Unlike his father, Charles was by nature a gentleman. In his private and personal relations he was conscientious and irreproachable ; in public matters he was just the reverse. This singular contrast — this double character, as it were — arose from the fact that as a man, Charles felt himself bound by truth and honor, but as a king he considered himself superior to such obligations. He began his reign with demands for money. Parliament declined to grant them unless the king would redress certain grievances of long standing. Charles refused all concessions, dissolved Parliament, and attempted to levy illegal taxes, and to extort loans. John Hampden, a farmer in Buckinghamshire, refused to lend his

majesty the sum asked. For the refusal he was thrown into prison. This led to increased agitation and discontent. At length the king found himself forced to summon Parliament. Immediately on assembling they presented to the king the Petition of Right,<sup>1</sup> which was in substance simply a new reading of Magna Carta, and stipulated that no taxes should be levied without the consent of Parliament, and that no one should be unlawfully imprisoned as Hampden had been. In it there was not an angry word; but, as a member of the Commons declared, "We say no more than what a worm, trodden upon, would say if he could speak, 'I pray thee tread upon me no more.'"<sup>2</sup>

Charles refused to sign the Petition, but, finding that money could be got on no other terms, he at last gave his signature. But for Charles to pledge his royal word meant its direct and open violation. For eleven years the king ruled without a parliament, and through Strafford as the head of the State, with his Star-Chamber, and his scheme called "Thorough," and through Laud with his High Commission court, he exercised a crushing and merciless system of political and religious tyranny.

To obtain means with which to equip a standing army, Charles forced the whole country to pay a tax

<sup>1</sup> See Section XII. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Bisset, Commonwealth of England.

known as "ship money." In time of war such an impost on the coast towns would have been legitimate, since the original object of it was to provide ships for the national defence. But when the country was at peace, such a demand could not be rightfully made, and for that reason John Hampden again resisted payment, and was again imprisoned; but when brought to trial, was fully acquitted.

In 1637, the king determined to force the use of the English liturgy on the Scotch Church; but no sooner had the Dean of Edinburgh opened the book than a general cry arose in the church, "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! stone him!" When the bishop endeavored to appease the tumult, and to read the prayer from the obnoxious book, the enraged congregation clapped and yelled, and an old woman hurled her stool at his head, shouting, "D'ye mean to say mass at my lug (ear)!" Riots ensued, and eventually matters became so serious that the king resolved to compel the Scots to accept his liturgy at the point of the bayonet. He collected an army for that purpose, but soon found that he had no funds to pay them. As a last resort he summoned that memorable parliament which from its continued session of thirteen years received the name of the *Long Parliament*.

The spirit of this parliament soon showed itself. They impeached Strafford for his many years of des-

potic oppression, and sent him to the block ; they abolished the Star-chamber and the High Commission Courts ; they passed a bill requiring that Parliament be summoned once in three years ; they condemned Laud to death ; they drew up the Remonstrance, a measure which set forth the faults of the king's government, while it declared their distrust of his policy ; finally, they enacted a law forbidding the dissolution of Parliament, except with its own consent.

Matters had now reached a climax, and Charles ordered the Commons to give up the five members (Hampden, Pym, and three others) who led the opposition. The request was not complied with, and the next day the king entered the House of Parliament with an armed force to seize them.<sup>1</sup> They had been forewarned, and had left the House, taking refuge in the city, which showed itself then, as always, on the side of liberty.

The king, baffled in his purpose, resolved to coerce Parliament by military force. He left London in 1642, never to return, until he came as a prisoner of the power he had insulted and defied. The war began with the battle of Edgehill, Leicestershire, and was, at first, favorable to the king. On his side were a great majority of the nobility, the clergy, and

<sup>1</sup> See Copley's fine picture in the Art-Room of the Boston Public Library.

the country gentlemen, known collectively as Cavaliers. On the side of Parliament were the tradesmen, the yeomanry, and a few men of rank. They were called in ridicule the Roundheads, from the Puritan fashion of wearing the hair closely cropped. Taking England, as a whole, we may say that the eastern half, with London, was against the king, and that the western half was for him.

The war continued six years, but on the field of Marston-moor, in 1644, the north of England was conquered by Cromwell, with his re-organized army; and in the following year, his psalm-singing "Iron-sides," who "trusted in God and kept their powder dry," gained the great victory of Naseby, in the midlands, which practically ended the war.

Shortly after this, the king was surrendered by the Scotch, to whom he had fled, and was brought to Hampton Court. Here Parliament attempted to open negotiations with him. But, politically speaking, Charles was false to the core; and, as Carlyle has said, "a man whose word will not inform you at all what he means or will do, is not a man you can bargain with. You must get out of that man's way, or put him out of yours."

The Puritans were now divided into two factions,—the Presbyterians, or moderate party, and the Independents, or radicals. The former were in favor of



limiting the power of the king by constitutional checks; the latter, with Cromwell at their head, wished to set up a republican form of government.

In 1648, all attempts to establish a solid and lasting treaty of peace having failed, the army grew impatient of parliamentary tactics, and at Cromwell's command, Colonel Pride proceeded to purge that body of all who still favored the continuance of negotiations. The members who remained were Independents, and were called, in derision, the Rump. On Jan. 20, 1649, the king was brought to trial, and a week later the court sentenced him to death as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy." Throughout the trial Charles conducted himself with dignity and self-possession. He was executed in front of the royal palace of Whitehall. "A great shudder ran through the crowd that saw the deed; then a shriek; then all immediately dispersed."

On the afternoon of the 30th of January, 1649, while the crowd that had witnessed the execution of Charles were slowly leaving the spot, the Commons passed an act "prohibiting the proclaiming of any person to be king of England or Ireland, or the dominions thereof." A few weeks later they abolished the House of Lords, as "useless and dangerous." England was now nominally governed by a council of forty-one members,

The Common-  
wealth and  
Protectorate,  
1649-1660.

but the power was really held by Oliver Cromwell. Under the new order of things all members of the Commons, and those who held office or military rule were required to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth "without king or House of Lords." The use of the English Church service was forbidden. The statues of Charles, in the city, were demolished. The Great Seal of England was broken, and a new one substituted, on one side of which was a map of England and Ireland; on the other was the House of Commons in session, with the legend, "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648."

But the Commonwealth, even with Cromwell as leader of its forces, had no easy task before it. It had enemies in the Royalists, and enemies in the wild, fanatic, half-crazed men of its own party. Communists, come-outers, and "all other cattle and creeping things" abounded. Their object was the destruction of rank, and private property, preparatory to a millenium, in which there should be an "equal division of unequal earnings." With such people Cromwell's course was necessarily summary, especially as some of them threatened him with assassination, with the view of ushering in the immediate personal reign of Christ!

In the north, Charles's son had been proclaimed king, and in the brave Montrose, and others like him,

had better friends than he deserved.<sup>1</sup> The king rallied a small force to defend his claim, but his army was defeated at Dunbar and at Worcester. After the last battle he hid himself for a day in the "Royal Oak" at Boscobel, then in friendly manor-houses, and, after many narrow escapes, succeeded in getting out of the country.

In 1653, finding that Parliament was becoming jealous of his increasing power, Cromwell determined to secure a House in full sympathy with himself and his army. Sir Harry Vane, a member of "the Rump," feeling that the liberty of the nation was in danger of falling into the hands of a military dictator, had presented a bill for the better representation of the country. Hearing of this, Cromwell entered the House, at the head of a squad of soldiers, and, crying out, "Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! good Lord, deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" he drove out the members of the House, hurling at them, as they passed, epithets of "drunkard," "glutton," "extortioner," and other unmentionable names. When all were gone, he locked the door, and put the key in his pocket.

Cromwell now called a new parliament of his own choosing, limited to one hundred and twenty-

<sup>1</sup> See Aytoun's stirring ballad, *The Execution of Montrose*, and Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.

eight members, and known as the "Barebone's Parliament," from a leather-seller named Praise-God Barebone, who was a member of it. By the Instrument of Government, Cromwell was soon afterward declared Lord Protector of England. His intention was to seize the crown; but, finding the army opposed to such a step, he relinquished his purpose.

He proved himself to be a protector, not only of the British realm, but of the Protestants of Europe; and when no other power could have saved them from persecution, he did. In an age when Puritan fanaticism went all lengths, even, as Hudibras said, "to killing of a cat on Monday, for catching of a rat on Sunday"; when it was a sin to eat mince-pie at Christmas, or to dance round a May-pole; when the theatres were closed, and mirth was ungodly; when it was a sign of sanctity to wear sad-colored raiment, and to talk through the nose; when bear-baiting was prohibited, "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectator,"—in such an age, Cromwell showed exceptional moderation and good sense.

Under his rule, the country prospered, and the English forces gained victories by land and sea, at home and abroad. During Cromwell's government,

Protestant missionaries were first sent from England to convert the red-men of America, who were supposed to be a remnant of the lost tribes of Israel. On the other hand, there are few of the cathedrals or parish churches of England that do not testify to the hatred of Romanism, and of all that even remotely savored of Romanism, on the part of Cromwell and his men, in their empty niches, remnants of stained glass, and their mutilated tombs, broken, hacked, and hewed by the pikes and swords of infuriated soldiers.

After being king, and even more, in all but name, during five years, Cromwell died, Sept. 3, 1658, on the anniversary of the victories of Dunbar and of Worcester. At the hour of his death, one of the most fearful storms was raging that ever swept over England,—a fit accompaniment, as it seemed to many, to the end of such a life.

If Cromwell was, as he has often been called, a usurper and a tyrant, he was so, not for his own, but for his country's good. In such a case, the motive is all-in-all. He was a rugged man, not lacking in dignity, but caring little for the smooth proprieties of life. In whatever he did he was eminently practical,—he went straight to the heart of matters. When the ship is foundering or on fire, or the crew has mutinied, it will not avail to sit in the cabin and discuss

abstract theories. Something must be done, and that promptly. In an age of faction, wrangling and uncertainty, when the very foundations of society seemed to be giving way, Cromwell saw that if the country was to be kept together, it must be by decided measures which no precedent, law or constitution justified, but which stood justified, none the less, by the exigency of the times, by his conscious rectitude of purpose and by the result. If there is any truth in Napoleon's maxim, that the tools belong to him who can use them, then Cromwell had a God-given right to rule, for, first, he had the ability, and, next, he employed it, all things considered, on the side of order and of justice.

Richard  
Cromwell,  
Sept. 3, 1658-  
April 22, 1659.

Richard was the son of the Protector, to whom his father's death consigned his father's work. He was an amiable, incapable individual, possessed of as many negative qualities as his father had positive. The army soon recognized his unfitness, and requested him to resign the protectorship, which he did, not only without remonstrance, but apparently, with a sense of relief at being eased of a burden too heavy for his weak shoulders to carry. To the people he was henceforth familiarly known as "Tumble-down Dick." He was pensioned off with a moderate income, and lived in obscurity. Years after his

abdication he visited Westminster, and when the attendant, who did not recognize him, showed him the throne, he said, "Yes; I have not seen that chair since I sat in it in 1659."

In 1660 the Royalists and Presbyterians united to summon a new parliament, known as the "Convention Parliament," from its not having been regularly elected. By this body Charles II., who was then on the continent, was recalled to the throne.

He was received at Dover with the wildest demonstrations of joy, and his journey to London was a triumphal progress. He soon revealed his character through his court. His chief favorite and adviser was the dissolute Earl of Rochester,—he who wrote on the door of the king's bed-chamber:—

"Here lies our sovereign lord the king,  
Whose word no man relies on;  
He never says a foolish thing,  
Nor ever does a wise one."

To which Charles, on reading it, retorted, "'Tis true, because my words are my own, but my acts are my minister's."

The new king was in every respect the antithesis of Cromwell. Charles had no love of country, no sense of duty, no belief in man or respect for woman. The single aim of his life was enjoyment. He desired to be king in order that he might have every means

for accomplishing that aim. In this, Charles undoubtedly represented a large part of the people. The Puritan policy had been pushed too far, and the attempt to reduce the whole of life to a sour asceticism had signally failed. Now the reaction had set in, and the lower and earthly side of human nature—none the less human because it is at the bottom and not at the top—took its full revenge. Profligacy became the fashion; and the popular literature of that day will not bear the light. The cabinet was like the king—as Guizot has said,<sup>1</sup> it was a government of debauchees. It began, indeed, decently and ably, with Clarendon; but in a few years it had degenerated into an administration by five leaders, called the Cabal,<sup>2</sup> whose character and deeds were such that Milton, as it is believed, took them as fit types of that council of “infernals peers,” Moloch, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub and Satan, who met to plot the ruin of the world.<sup>3</sup>

Among the earliest acts of Charles's reign was the passage of severe measures<sup>4</sup> against the Non-

<sup>1</sup> “Les roués, les libertins formèrent le ministère qu'on appela le ministère de la cabale.” — Guizot, *Hist. de la Civilization*.

<sup>2</sup> The word is formed of the initials of their names, — Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Laudersdale.

<sup>3</sup> See *Paradise Lost*, I. and II. And compare Dryden's *Absalom* and *Achitophel*.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.*, the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act and the Five-Mile Act. See Section XII.



conformists, by which two thousand Presbyterian ministers were driven from their parishes and reduced to great distress; while in Scotland, Claverhouse hanged and drowned the Covenanters for their faith.<sup>1</sup>

Among multitudes who suffered under these and similar acts was a certain laborer named John Bunyan, who, being convicted of having “devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church,” was committed for twelve years to Bedford jail—that squalid “Denn”<sup>2</sup> whose misery he forgot, in his dream of a pilgrimage from this world to the next; thus proving, as Milton did, in the proscription and poverty which he suffered, that

“The mind is its own place, and in itself  
Can make a heaven of hell.”

In 1665, a terrible plague broke out in London, which has been graphically described in a work of fiction by Defoe, and which carried off a hundred thousand victims within six months. It was followed, in 1666, by a fire which Evelyn, who witnessed it, said “was not to be outdone until the

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Walter Scott’s *Tales of a Grandfather*.

<sup>2</sup> “As I walk’d through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a Denn; and I laid me down in that place to sleep: And as I slept I dreamed a Dream.” — *THE PILGRIM’S PROGRESS*, edition of 1678.

final conflagration." By it "London as a city was obliterated," nothing being left but a fringe of houses on the north-east. Great as the calamity was, yet, from a sanitary point of view, it did immense service, for it swept away miles of streets crowded with buildings foul with the accumulated filth of ages. A monument near London bridge marks the spot where the fire began. For many years it bore an inscription affirming that the Catholics kindled the flames, — a falsehood which Pope exposed in the lines: —

"Where London's column, pointing to the skies,  
Like a tall bully lifts its head and lies."

Sir Christopher Wren rebuilt the city. He lies buried under the grand dome of St. Paul's, his own grandest work. On his grave are the words, "*Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice!*"<sup>1</sup>

In 1670, Charles signed the secret treaty of Dover. It was his great ambition to make himself independent of Parliament, but without money he could not effect this. To get it, he deliberately and shamelessly sold himself as a tool to Louis XIV. of France in consideration of a bribe of two hundred thousand pounds, in return for which, Charles declared him-

<sup>1</sup> "Reader, if you seek his monument, look around!" The inscription is repeated in the transept of the cathedral, over the North door.

self ready to publicly profess the Roman Catholic religion, and to aid the king of France in his attack on the liberty of Holland and the destruction of Protestantism.

True to his promise, Charles provoked a war with the Dutch, but found that more money would be needed. Not knowing where to borrow, he resolved to steal it. In the exchequer there were then lying various deposits, made by prominent London merchants and bankers, amounting to one million three hundred thousand pounds. The king seized this, thus ruining those who had trusted him, and causing a financial panic which shook London to its foundations.

Meanwhile the growing discontent with Charles's oppressive measures, which became steadily worse, bred plots against his life, and that of his brother James, the Duke of York, who, in case of Charles's death would succeed him. While these were hatching, an infamous scoundrel, named Titus Oates, pretended that he had discovered that the Catholics were conspiring to destroy London. With the remembrance of the great fire still fresh in mind, the people were roused to intense excitement, and a great number of eminent persons were arrested and executed. A bill was passed excluding Roman Catholics from both Houses of Parliament, and an attempt was afterwards

made to debar the Duke of York, who was an avowed Romanist, from the succession.

A few years later a Protestant conspiracy, known as the Rye-house Plot, was accidentally discovered. Its object was the murder of Charles and his brother James, in order to secure the throne to the Protestant party. Algernon Sidney and Lord Russell, who were known to have favored the bill which excluded James, were arrested, and, on insufficient evidence, were condemned to death. "Russell died with the fortitude of a Christian ; Sidney, with the fortitude of a Stoic."

During Charles's reign the Royal Society was founded. In an age when alchemy and witchcraft were still believed in, the establishment of an association for the promotion of science was a significant event. Under its encouragement that great work was published which demonstrates the law which governs the falling of an apple, and the movements of the planets in their orbits.

" Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night ;  
God said, ' Let Newton be,' and all was light."

The two chief political measures of Charles's reign were the Habeas Corpus Act, which provided that no subject should be detained in prison except by due process of law, and the abolition by statute of the last vestige of feudalism.

In 1685 the end came. Evelyn tells us that on Sunday evening, the last of January of that year, he was present at the Court of Whitehall and saw Charles sitting in the grand banqueting room (now a Chapel Royal), "chatting and toying with three women, whose charms were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace, of three nations, while a crowd of courtiers were gathered round a gambling-table heaped with gold. Six days after all was in the dust."

James II.,  
1685-1688. James's first great ambition was to rule without a parliament; his second, which was still nearer his heart, was to restore the Roman Catholic religion in England. "This was his consuming passion; it stood him in the stead of every other faith." "On Easter Sunday," writes Macaulay, "the worship of the Church of Rome was once more, after an interval of a hundred and twenty years, performed at Westminster with regal splendor."

During the discontent and alarm that these proceedings caused, James, Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II., landed in the South of England with a small force which he had gathered on the continent, and proclaimed himself king. Many of the country people rallied to his support, but in the battle of Sedgemoor, Monmouth's army was utterly routed. Monmouth, himself, was soon

after captured, sent to the Tower and executed. His body was buried in that little chapel of St. Peter's,<sup>1</sup> of which, it has been said that "there is no sadder spot on earth, since there death is associated with whatever is darkest in human nature and in human destiny." The engagement at Sedgemoor was the last deserving the name of battle that has been fought on English ground.

The defeat and death of Monmouth was followed by "the bloody assizes," or English reign of terror, conducted by the infamous Judge Jeffreys, who delighted, as he said, in giving all who were so unfortunate as to come before him, "a lick with the rough side of his tongue," previous to roaring out the cruel sentence of torture or death, in which he delighted yet more.

All who were implicated in the late rising were hunted down and brought to a trial which was a mockery of justice. No one was allowed to defend himself; in fact, defence would have been useless against the blind ferocity of such a court. A gentleman present at one of these scenes of slaughter, touched with pity at the condition of a trembling old man called up for sentence, ventured to interpose a word in his behalf. "My lord," said he, "this poor creature is on the parish." "Do not

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, St. Peter Ad Vincula, within the walls of the Tower.

trouble yourself," cried the judge; "I will soon ease the parish of the burden!" and ordered the poor wretch to the gallows forthwith.

A young man was sentenced to be imprisoned seven years, and to be whipped once a year through all the market towns in Dorsetshire. He petitioned the king to grant him the favor of being hanged, and was refused; but a partial remission of the punishment was at length gained by bribes.

Alice Lisle, an aged woman who had concealed two men flying from the king's vengeance, was condemned to be burned alive; and it was with difficulty that the clergy of Winchester cathedral succeeded in getting the sentence commuted to beheading. As the work went on, "Jeffreys's spirits," says Macaulay, "rose higher and higher; he laughed, shouted, joked and swore like a drunken man." When the circuit was finished, more than a thousand persons had been brutally whipped, sold into slavery or hanged. The guide-posts of the highways were converted into gibbets, and from every church-tower in Somersetshire a ghastly head looked down on those who gathered there to worship God. So many were the bodies exposed, that the whole air was tainted with corruption and death.

On Jeffreys's return from this carnival of blood, James expressed his approval by making him Lord

Chancellor, his only censure being that he had not shown sufficient severity.

In 1688, the king, in order to bring the great institutions of learning under the control of the Catholics, ordered the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to choose a president of that faith. They refused to obey him, and elected a Protestant. For this act they were ejected from the college, and had to depend on the charity of neighboring country gentlemen for subsistence. Having gained a partial victory at Oxford, James next issued a Declaration of Indulgence, abolishing all religious tests. The object of this apparent measure of toleration was to put Papists, then legally excluded from holding any office, into positions of trust and power. A royal proclamation commanded that the Declaration should be read on a given Sunday in all the churches. Seven bishops remonstrated and declined to order their clergy to comply with the king's command. When the day came, hardly a minister read the paper; and in the few cases in which it was done, the congregation rose and left the church. Furious at the result, James sent the refractory bishops to the Tower. On their trial the popular feeling in their favor was so strong, that not even the servile court dared to convict them. The news of their acquittal was received in London with shouts of joy, bonfires and illuminations.



Affairs had now reached a crisis ; and on the very day that the bishops were set at liberty, seven of the leading nobility and gentry, representing both political parties, seconded by the city of London, sent a secret invitation to William, prince of Orange, at the Hague, urging him to come over to England and accept the crown.

William came with an army of fourteen thousand men. The king endeavored to rally a force to meet him ; but his troops deserted, and even his daughter Anne went over to the enemy. "Now God help me!" exclaimed James in despair ; "for my own children forsake me!" and throwing the great Seal of State into the Thames, he fled to France, to find protection at the court of Versailles.<sup>1</sup>

Never was a revolution of such magnitude accomplished so peacefully. Not a drop of blood was shed. Even the bronze statue of James was allowed to stand in the rear of Whitehall, where it still remains. The fulness of time had come. Old things were passing away ; all was becoming new. Henceforth we hear no more of punishments inflicted on account of religious belief or political opinion. Courts of justice were no longer to be, in Hallam's expressive phrase, "little better than caverns of mur-

<sup>1</sup> Respecting the king's life at Versailles, see Doran's *Monarchs retired from Business*.

derers," where judges browbeat those arraigned before them, took their guilt for granted, and fined and imprisoned juries for daring to bring in a verdict contrary to their wish.<sup>1</sup> The agony of the "boot" and the thumbscrew, which James delighted to witness, the fetid dungeon in which men slowly rotted — these had had their day and were never to reappear.

For the future, thought in England was to be free; and perhaps the coward king's heaviest retribution, in his secure retreat beyond the sea, was the knowledge that all his efforts, to prevent it from becoming so, had wholly failed.

**William III. and Mary,** 1689-1702. After the flight of James II., a parliament was called, which declared the throne vacant, and William and Mary were invited to reign jointly, the actual administration being vested in the former.

In order clearly to define the rights of the people and the prerogative of the crown, the Declaration of Rights was drawn up, and signed by both king and queen. This declaration was afterward embodied in the Bill of Rights,<sup>2</sup> which became a law in 1689. By the provisions of that bill, standing armies in

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to Prof. Adams's Manual of Historical Literature; and for a graphic picture of the times, read in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Christian's trial before Lord Hategood.

<sup>2</sup> See Section XII. 64.

time of peace, and levies of money without the consent of Parliament were forbidden. The right of petition was guaranteed; the frequent assembling of Parliament, and freedom of discussion were secured, and the king was debarred from interfering with the execution of the laws.

Foremost in the list of benefits which England owes to the revolution should be placed the Toleration Act, which protected all Protestant sects in liberty to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Next, Parliament established the rule that all money, voted for the supply and support of government, should be applied to the service specified in the vote. That statute gave to the House of Commons the full control of the purse, and made it, what it has ever since really been, the paramount power of the State.<sup>1</sup>

The next great blessing, conferred by the revolution, was the purification of the administration of justice in political cases (to which reference has already been made). But of all the reforms produced by the change of government, perhaps none has proved more extensively useful than the establishment of the liberty of the press, for which Milton had earnestly but vainly labored, declaring that, "while he who kills a man, kills a reasonable crea-

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay.

ture; . . . he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself.”<sup>1</sup>

Following the abolition of restriction on printing came the establishment of newspapers, — “an event,” to use Macaulay’s words, “of far greater importance than the achievements of William’s army or of Russell’s fleet.”

In 1690, James II., aided by Louis XIV., landed in Ireland, besieged Londonderry, unsuccessfully, and was finally defeated at the decisive battle of the Boyne, where William commanded in person. The pusillanimous behavior of James on this occasion excited the scorn of both the French and the Irish. “Change kings with us!” shouted an Irish officer to one of William’s men, “change kings with us, and we’ll fight you again.”

Ten years later the English fleet gained the victory of La Hogue over the French. The continental wars of William continued five years longer, until, by the Peace of Ryswick, 1697, Louis XIV. recognized him as king of England. It marked the end of the conspiracy between Louis and the Stuarts to turn England into a Roman Catholic country, and a dependency of France.

When William went to return thanks for the peace, it was to the new Saint Paul’s, which Wren

<sup>1</sup> Milton’s *Areopagitica*.

had just completed, and which was then used for the first time for public worship.

In 1701, Parliament passed the Act of Settlement, which secured a Protestant succession to the throne, in the line of the Princess Sophia of Hanover, a descendant of James I., exception being made in favor of the issue of William III. and of Anne. This most important measure practically abolished the principle of hereditary succession, and established the sovereignty of Parliament. By these two acts—the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement<sup>1</sup>—the right of the people to depose the king, to change the order of succession, and to set upon the throne whom they would, was established. “An English sovereign is now as much the creature of an act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm.”<sup>2</sup>

According to Guizot, William’s real object in accepting the English crown was to draw the nation into an alliance with Holland against Louis XIV., who was bent on destroying religious and political liberty on the continent. The constant wars between England and France, which followed William’s accession, laid the foundation of the National Debt. One other thing he established, more widely known than his greatest victories — that institution in

<sup>1</sup> See Section XII. 64 and 70.

<sup>2</sup> Green, History of the English People.

Threadneedle Street, London, in one of whose courts stands a statue dedicated in 1734 to the memory of the best of princes, William of Orange, founder of the Bank of England. William died in 1702, a few years after the loss of his beloved wife. His personal record is a remarkable one. Through a life which was one long disease, the force of his mind, says Macaulay, never failed on any great occasion to bear up his suffering and languid body.

Anne, Anne, sister of Mary, and daughter of 1702-1714. James II. "When in good humor, she was meekly stupid; and when in ill-humor, sulkily stupid;" but, says Stanhope, if there was any person in England duller than her majesty, that person was her majesty's consort, Prince George of Denmark. Anne had seventeen children, all of whom died in infancy, except one unfortunate, sickly son, who lived just long enough to awaken hopes that were buried with him. The queen inherited, along with some amiable qualities, the obstinacy, the prejudices, and the superstitions of her race. She was the last sovereign who declared her faith in the Divine Right of kings, the last who believed that the royal hand could dispel disease, and who publicly announced in the London Gazette her intention of "touching" for the cure of the "king's evil" or scrofula.<sup>1</sup> Her reign has been characterized as one of corruption in

<sup>1</sup> London Gazette, March 12, 1712.

high places, and brutality in low ; but from a literary point of view it shone with the mild splendor of Addison, Defoe and Pope, the lurid light of Swift, and it saw the names of Fielding and of Hume appear above the horizon. Aside from this, it was an age of contented dullness, in which country gentlemen of the Roger de Coverly type existed as ideals, not facts.

So far as the crown was concerned, the real power, though in Anne's name, was in the hands of the Duchess of Marlborough, whose imperious temper carried all before her, and who ruled the queen in everything from questions of State to details of dress. Eventually they quarrelled, and the Duchess was superseded by a Mrs. Masham, who likewise attained well-nigh absolute control over her royal mistress. Her influence led to the dismissal of the Whig ministers, to the reversal of their war-policy, and to the Peace of Utrecht. Thus it was that "the insolence of one waiting-woman, and the cunning of another, changed the future of Europe."

Politically, the country was divided between the Whigs and the Tories, two great parties, which originated during the latter part of the reign of Charles II. (about 1680). They may, perhaps, be regarded as the political successors of the Roundheads and the Cavaliers of the period of the civil war, and as the predecessors of the Liberals and the Conserva-

tives of the present day. The policy of the former party has always tended to limit the power of the Crown, of the latter to limit that of the people. The Whigs were pledged to maintain the Act of Settlement passed in the previous reign, and thereby, after Anne's death, to exclude the Stuarts from the throne. The Tories were determined to keep peace with the Catholic powers of Europe and to restore the Stuarts. The Whigs adhered to Low Church, the Tories to High Church, principles; and thus to the bitterness of political strife was added the yet more acrid bitterness of theological dispute. Addison tells an amusing story of a boy who was called a popish cur by a member of one party for inquiring for St. Ann's Lane, and cuffed for irreverence by another when he asked for Ann's Lane.

The leading men of both parties were utterly untrustworthy. They were false to their avowed principles and false to those who depended on them. To read the life of Marlborough, or the history of Anne's ministers, is to follow a tangled web of plots and counterplots till baseness and treachery can go no further.

From the beginning of her reign Anne was involved in a war with France. Louis XIV. was engaged in an attempt to place his grandson on the throne of Spain, declaring that there "should be no more Pyrenees," but that the two countries should



be one. He had also publicly recognized the son of James II. as the legitimate king of England, and bound himself to support his claim with both money and arms. The project dragged England, and ultimately nearly all Europe, into the War of the Spanish Succession<sup>1</sup>—a war to maintain the balance of power which the success of France would destroy. The war ended only a short time before the queen's death. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, commanded the English forces. He was the ablest general, with a single exception, that ever led an English army; brilliantly successful in war, but avaricious, unscrupulous and perfidious. He owed the beginning of his fortunes to court intrigues.

In 1704 Marlborough gained the victory of Blenheim, which was followed by the taking of Gibraltar and by other successes on the continent.<sup>2</sup>

Peace was re-established by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. By this treaty a compromise was effected. Louis gained a part of his object, not by force of arms, but by the death of Eugene of Germany; and England gained the right of supplying the Spanish colonies in America with negro slaves. This lucrative traffic England had long eagerly coveted. In Elizabeth's time, Sir John Hawkins entered into it with his ship "Jesus," and pursued it with such

<sup>1</sup> See Macaulay's Essays.

<sup>2</sup> See Thackeray's Henry Esmond.

profit that in a few years he was able to set up a coat of arms, emblazoned with a slave bound hand and foot, emblematic of the source of his distinction.

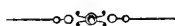
Although since the accession of James, England and Scotland had been ruled by one sovereign, they had continued to hold separate parliaments. In 1706 they were united under the name of Great Britain, and from that date Scotland has been represented in Parliament by a fixed number of peers and of members of the House of Commons.

It was during the reign of Anne that the first daily newspaper was issued in England — the “Daily Courant” — a dingy sheet, little bigger than a man’s hand, which the publisher said he had made so small “to save the Publick at least half the Impertinences of Ordinary News-Papers.” Perhaps it was well he did; for since it had to compete with swarms of political pamphlets, such as Swift wrote for the Tories, and Defoe for the Whigs, and with the wits of the clubs and coffee-houses, the proprietors found it no easy matter either to fill or to sell it.

A few years later Addison’s “Spectator” appeared, — a daily essay hitting off the follies and the foibles of the age, and regularly served at the breakfast-tables of people of fashion along with the tea and toast. Such was the humble beginning of that vast power represented to-day by the daily press of London.

## X.

“The history of England is emphatically the history of progress. It is the history of a constant movement of the public mind, of a constant change in the institutions of a great society.”—MACAULAY.



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS THE PARAMOUNT POWER. THE ERA OF REFORM.

## LOSS ABROAD—GAIN AT HOME.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER, 1714, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

George I., 1714–1727.

George II., 1727–1760.

George III., 1760–1820.

George IV., 1820–1830.

William IV., 1830–1837.

Victoria, 1837—

George I., THE Treaty of Utrecht was followed by 1714–1727. a long period of prosperity in England. With the accession of George, the Whig party came into power, and the leaders of the Tories were impeached for treason for having favored the fallen House of Stuart in the person of the eldest son of James II.

The new king was George, Elector of Hanover, a German grandson of Elizabeth, only daughter of James I., of England, who had married the Elector

Frederic, afterward king of Bohemia. He was a selfish, gross old man, who, in private life, would, as Lady Montague said, pass for an honest blockhead. He knew no English, and he made no effort to learn it; but passed his day quietly, smoking his German pipe, laughing at the caricature figures which the ladies of his court cut out of paper, and letting Sir Robert Walpole govern the country.

Such a king suited an age represented by Hogarth's pencil and Fielding's pen. The present form of government dates from this reign. In the time of William I., the king himself appointed and dismissed his ministers. George I. was too ignorant of English ways, and too indolent to do this, and so the responsibility for the ministry devolved upon one of their number, who was henceforth called the Prime Minister. Walpole first held that position as chief of the cabinet. In the next reign George II. complained that "in England the ministers are king."

Fortunately the country was able to take care of itself. Voltaire said of the people, that they resembled a barrel of their own beer, froth at the top, dregs at the bottom, but sound and wholesome in the middle. It was this middle class whose solid good sense kept the nation right.

In 1715, the son of James II., known as "the Old Pretender," to distinguish him from the king's grand-

son, "the Young Pretender,"<sup>1</sup> made an attempt to recover the three kingdoms, which, as the saying was, "his father had lost for a mass." He landed in Scotland and fought a battle at Sheriff-muir, which the old ballad in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* describes:—

"There's some say that we won, and some say that they won,  
And some say that none won at a', man;  
But one thing is sure, that at Sheriff-muir  
A battle there was, which I saw, man."

At Preston, the whole rebellion, which was not formidable, was crushed, and the Pretender escaped back to France.<sup>2</sup>

In 1719, a gigantic commercial enterprise organized by the South Sea Company was started, which proposed to pay off the National Debt through the profits of the slave trade to be carried on between Africa and Brazil. The government approved the scheme, and the stock rapidly rose to a fabulous height. A speculative craze followed, the like of which has never since been known. Companies sprang into existence for objects as absurd as those ridiculed by Swift in his "*Gulliver's Travels*." One was for manufacturing butter from beech trees;

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, James Francis Edward Stuart, the "Old Pretender," and Charles Edward Stuart (his son), the "Young Pretender."

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.

another for teaching astrology; a third had the audacity to issue a prospectus "for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is"! Even this found subscribers for over two thousand pounds sterling in a single morning; when the ingenious originator, having secured the cash, forthwith disappeared.

The narrow passage in which the offices of these companies were was crowded all day with eager speculators, so well depicted by Hogarth in his "Change Alley." In 1721, the bubble burst, and great numbers of people were hopelessly ruined.

During this reign and the following, Walpole openly bribed members of Parliament, bought votes for government measures, carried elections by gifts of titles, honors, and bank notes, and proved to his own entire satisfaction his cynical maxim that "every man has his price." But bad as the policy was, it was yet a confession that Parliament ruled, and that not even the crown could carry a measure by force. Walpole was a fox, not a lion; and foxes, as Emerson tells us, "are so cunning because they are not strong."

George II.,        The second George was much like his  
1727-1760.        father, but he could speak English tolerably. He was a good soldier, and, as Walpole said, "enjoyed knocking royal heads together on the con-

continent." There was war with Spain, war with France, war in India, war on the seas, and war in America; and with such success that the prime minister complained that "he was tired of hearing of two great victories a week."

No great principle was at stake in these wars, and most of them serve only to recall Southey's lines, in which the child asks, "What good came of it at last?"

Morally, the age of George II. seemed torpid with that torpor which precedes death. Intemperance was steadily on the increase. Strong drink had taken the place of beer, and the cry at every election was, "No gin, no king." The London taverns were thronged, day and night, and placards in the windows offered the tempting inducement, "Drunk for a penny; dead drunk for twopence; clean straw for nothing!" On the straw lay men and women, helpless in beastly intoxication.

Such was the state of things when, in 1730, a great religious revival began, which received, in derision, the name of *Methodism*. John Wesley, a student at Oxford, was its leader. The movement swept, with regenerating influence, over the whole country. Rough men, who had blasphemed, and scoffed at church and Bible, were touched, and melted to tears of penitence, by the

fervor of a man whom neither threats nor ridicule could turn aside from his one great purpose of saving souls. He did not ask the multitude to come to him: he went to them, preaching in the fields, at the corners of the streets, in the slums, on the docks,—in short, wherever he could find listening ears and willing hearts. No such appeals had been heard in England since the days when Augustine and his monks went forth on their mission among the barbarous Saxons; and the results answered fully to the zeal that awakened them. Better than all the boasted prosperity of the times, were the new life and the new spirit which then came into being, and by which the national church was “provoked to good works.”

In 1745, the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, came to Scotland, with seven followers, and with the aid of the Highland clans gained a victory at Preston-pans. At Culloden he was overtaken by the English army, and defeated with great slaughter. With the flight from that battle-field, the Jacobites lost hope; there were no more ringing songs sung over bowls of steaming punch, like “Wha’ll be king but Charlie!” and “Over the water to Charlie!” and when, soon after, he died in Rome, the Stuarts disappeared from history.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Walter Scott’s *Tales of a Grandfather*.



In 1757, the French made a desperate attempt to gain possession of India, but were defeated by Clive at the battle of Plassey,<sup>1</sup> and the English empire in India was established on a firm and lasting foundation.

Two years later Canada was won from the French by Wolfe's victory at Quebec. Peace was made at Paris in 1763, Spain ceded Florida to England, and the English flag now waved over the whole eastern half of the continent, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. A few more such conquests, and "her military drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours," would literally "circle the earth with one continuous strain of the martial airs of England."<sup>2</sup>

George III.,  
1760-1820. He was a man of excellent private character, who prided himself on having been born an Englishman. Mentally he was conscientious, but narrow and stubborn to the last degree. "Be a king, George; be a king!" had been his mother's constant injunction; and when he came to the throne George determined to be king if self-will would make him one.

The wars of the two preceding reigns, together with the seven years' war with Spain, undertaken to prevent an alliance of that power with France, had

<sup>1</sup> See Macaulay's Essay on Lord Clive.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Webster.

largely increased the national debt, and the government resolved to compel the American colonies to share the constantly increasing burden of taxation, The theory respecting the colonies, then held by England, had at least the merit of simplicity. They were looked upon as receptacles for the surplus population, bad or good, of the mother country; as fields, too, wherein the favorites of the home government might make fortunes. By the Navigation Laws the colonies had to confine their trade to England alone.<sup>1</sup> They were expected to buy the products of her mills and factories and to supply her with raw material. They might not themselves make so much as a horseshoe-nail, or print a copy of the New Testament, but they might and must submit to be taxed for the benefit of the benign power that condescended to rule over them.

In accordance with this theory the ministry proposed various taxes on the American colonies, nominally as compensation for protection afforded them against the French and the natives, or Indians. One form, and a specially obnoxious one, was that imposed by the Stamp Act of 1765, which required all legal documents, wills, deeds, notes, drafts, receipts, etc., to be written upon paper bearing high-priced stamps. The leading men and the colonists gen-

<sup>1</sup> See Section XII. 44.

erally protested against this impost, and agents were sent to England and maintained there to sustain the protest by argument and remonstrance.

The bill, however, was enacted by Parliament; the stamps were duly sent over, but the people refused them and much tumult ensued. In England strong sympathy with the colonies was expressed by such men as Lord Chatham, Burke, Fox, and, generally, by what was well called "the brains of Parliament." Chatham urged the immediate repeal of the bill, saying, "I rejoice that America has resisted."

Since Magna Carta, the principle had been recognized that the king could not take the subject's money without the subject's consent. The Stamp Act was a clear violation of that principle, and Chatham declared that taxation of the colonies without representation was tyranny; that opposition to it was a duty; and that the spirit shown by the Americans was the same that in England had withstood the Stuarts and refused illegal loans, "benevolences" and ship money.<sup>1</sup>

Against such opposition the ministry could not stand. The act was repealed, amid great rejoicings in London. Bow-bells were rung, and many ships in the Thames were illuminated. But the government's pressing need of money continued, and

<sup>1</sup> See Chatham's Speeches on the Stamp Act, etc.

another plan was adopted for getting it from the colonies. The half-bankrupt East India Company had heavy stocks of tea on hand, and it was agreed that in consideration of their shipping it to America the English duty should be remitted, and an impost of three pence per pound, payable by the colonists, should be levied.<sup>1</sup> By this arrangement the Americans would get their tea cheaper than before, but they were required to pay a tax on it, to which they had not consented. In itself the three-penny tax was a trifle, but underlying it was a principle which was no trifle. For such principles revolutions had been fought in the past and were to be again.

The colonists had resolved on renewed resistance. When a shipment of tea arrived at Boston, it was seized by a band of men disguised as Indians, and thrown overboard. The news of that action made the king furious. The port of Boston was declared closed, and the charter of Massachusetts annulled. But even yet peace might have been restored if the counsels of the best men had been followed; but George III. would not listen to compromise. His one idea of *being king* at all hazards had become a monomania. Fox wrote, "It is intolerable to think that it should be in the power of one blockhead to do so much mischief." The obstinacy of Charles I. had

<sup>1</sup> May's Constitutional History of England.

cost him his head; that of George the Third cost him the loss of the fairest and richest dominions he possessed, after seven years of fighting, and an outlay of a hundred and twenty millions of pounds sterling.

In 1775 war began, and the fighting at Lexington, and at Bunker-hill, showed that the Americans were in earnest. Then the ministry became alarmed. They were ready to grant everything but independence, but it was too late. Washington, who was then commander-in-chief, declined to receive a letter from the English government addressed to him as George Washington, Esquire, and so negotiations were dropped. The war went on with varying fortunes through seven heavy years, until the defeat of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown convinced the king that he was throwing away life and money and getting nothing back.

On a foggy November morning in 1783, the king entered the House of Lords, and with a voice betraying much emotion read a paper acknowledging the independence of the United States of America. He added a prayer that neither Great Britain nor America might suffer from the separation, and that religion, language, interest, and affection might prove an effectual bond of union between the two countries.

Thus ended a contest which, as the Earl of Chat-

ham declared, while it was in progress, "was conceived in injustice, nurtured in folly, and whose footsteps were marked with slaughter and devastation."

While the American war was in progress, England had not been wholly quiet at home. The Whig Party wished to repeal the severe laws against Roman Catholics; but the feeling on the opposite side rose to such a pitch that in 1780 Lord George Gordon, a half-crazed fanatic excited an outbreak known as the No-Popery Riots,<sup>1</sup> which caused the burning of Newgate prison, the destruction of many innocent lives and much property.

Still later Warren Hastings, governor-general of India, was impeached for maladministration, and was tried in Westminster Hall. Since Charles I. was arraigned at the bar of Parliament no case had occurred which excited the interest that this did. On the side of Hastings was the powerful East India Company, then the wealthiest corporation in the world, ruling over a territory larger than the whole eastern half of the United States from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. Against him were the three ablest and most eloquent men in England,—Burke, Sheridan, and Fox. The trial was continued at intervals for eight years, and resulted in the acquittal

<sup>1</sup> See Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*.

of the accused; but the mismanagement, cruelty and corruption that this protracted investigation revealed eventually broke up the gigantic monopoly, and India was thrown open to the trade of all nations.<sup>1</sup>

Another field of reform beside that in the East was found. The times were brutal. The pillory<sup>2</sup> still stood in the centre of London, and if the offender who was put in it got off with a shower of mud and other unsavory missiles, instead of sticks and an occasional brickbat, he did well. On court days gentlemen of fashion arranged parties of pleasure to visit Bridewell to see the wretched women, who beat hemp there, whipped. The penal laws were equally savage, and inflicted capital punishment for a long list of offences, not less than two hundred in all, most of which would now be thought sufficiently punished by a few months' imprisonment. Women, and even children, were hanged for pilfering goods, or food, of the value of a few shillings.<sup>3</sup> The prisons were crowded with poor wretches whom want had driven to commit some trivial offence, and who were "worked off," as the phrase was, on the gallows every Monday morning, in batches of a dozen or twenty, in sight of noisy and drunken crowds who gathered to witness their death-

<sup>1</sup> See Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings.

<sup>2</sup> The pillory was not abolished until the accession of Victoria.

<sup>3</sup> Five shillings was the "hanging limit."

agony. Through the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly a reform was effected in this bloody code, and by the efforts of the philanthropist John Howard, and forty years later of Elizabeth Fry, the jails were purified of abuses which had made them veritable hells on earth.

In 1789, the French Revolution broke out. On the execution of Louis XVI. and his queen Marie Antoinette in 1793, England joined the Bourbon alliance against France.<sup>1</sup> The close of the revolution brought Napoleon Buonaparte into power. Nelson fought the battle of the Nile, and later that of Trafalgar, where

“There was silence deep as death;—  
And the boldest held his breath  
For a time.”

Trafalgar Square, in London, with its tall column bearing aloft a statue of the hero, commemorates the victory which was dearly bought with the life of the great admiral.

Trafalgar snuffed out Napoleon's projected invasion of England. He had lost his ships, and their commander had committed suicide; so the French emperor could no longer hope to leap “the ditch,” as he called the boisterous channel that lay between

<sup>1</sup> See Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* (Death of Marie Antoinette).



him and the power he hated. A few years previously the union of Great Britain and Ireland had been consummated, and the parliament of the united kingdom was summoned. Pitt had urged that both Catholic and Protestant representatives from Ireland should be eligible; but his advice was rejected, and though a majority of Irish people were zealous Romanists, not a single member of that faith could be elected. To increase, if possible, the Irish hatred of English misgovernment of their country, free trade with the English had, up to this time, been withheld from the Irish. They were thus treated as a foreign race, and as commercial as well as religious aliens.

In 1769, nine years after the accession of George III., James Watt had obtained his first patent for his steam engine. The story is told that he took a working model to show to the king, who patronizingly asked, "What have you to sell, my man?" and was answered, "What kings covet, may it please your majesty, — *power*." The story is perhaps too good to be true, but the fact of the "power" could not be gainsaid — power, too, not simply mechanical, but moral and political as well. In 1811, such was the increase in machinery driven by steam, and such the improvements made by Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton and others in machinery for spinning and

weaving, that much distress had arisen among the working classes. They saw their hand-labor supplanted by "monsters of iron and fire" that never grew weary, that subsisted on water and coal, and that never struck for higher wages. Led by a man named Ludd, the starving workmen attacked the mills, broke the machinery in pieces, and sometimes set fire to the buildings. The riots were suppressed by force of arms, and several of the leaders were executed. But a great change for the better was at hand. Steam soon remedied the evils that it had seemingly created.

Until this period the north of England had been the poorest part of the country. The population was sparse, ignorant and unprosperous. It was in the south that improvements originated. In the reign of Henry VIII. the north fought against the dissolution of the monasteries; in Elizabeth's reign it resisted Protestantism; in that of George I. it sided with the Pretender. But steam wrought a great change. Factories were built, population increased, cities sprang up and wealth grew apace. Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham, Leicester, Sheffield and Liverpool made the north a new country. The saying is now current that "what Lancashire thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow." So much for James Watt's "power" and its concomitants. .

In 1812, the United States declared a second war against Great Britain. The English government had affirmed the principle that a person born on British soil could not transfer his allegiance to the United States; but that "once an Englishman always an Englishman" was the true doctrine. In accordance with that view they claimed the right to search American ships, and to take from them British-born seamen. Thus they had seized more than six thousand men and forced them into their own navy, which was then needing sailors.

During this war the British forces landed in Maryland, burned the capitol and other public buildings in Washington, and destroyed the Congressional library. The American navy had extraordinary and unexpected successes on the ocean and lakes. The contest closed with the signal defeat of the British forces at New Orleans, under Sir Edward Pakenham, brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, by the Americans under Gen. Andrew Jackson. The right of search was thenceforth relinquished.

In 1814, a company was formed, after much opposition, for lighting London streets with gas. Till then the streets had been dark and dangerous by night, and highway robberies were frequent. The new light, as Miss Martineau has well said, did more to prevent crime than all the power of govern-

ment had done since the days of Alfred. The sight now of the great city, viewed at night from the archway at Highgate or from Westminster Bridge, brings to mind the lines, —

“O gleaming lamps of London, that gem the city’s crown,  
What fortunes lie within you, O lights of London town!”

\* \* \* \* \*

“O cruel lamps of London, if tears your light could drown,  
Your victims’ eyes would weep them, O lights of London town!”

In 1808, Napoleon took possession of Spain, and placed his brother on the throne. The Spaniards appealed to England for help, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known later as the Duke of Wellington, was sent to their aid. With less than forty thousand troops he twice expelled the French from Portugal, once from Spain, and ended by carrying the war into France, and compelling Napoleon to restore the throne to Spain.

On Sunday, June 18, 1815, the English war against Napoleon, which had been carried on at intervals since his accession to power, culminated in the battle of Waterloo. All the previous night rain had been falling in torrents, and when the soldiers arose from their cheerless bivouac in the crushed and muddy fields of rye, a drizzling rain still fell. Napoleon hoped to destroy the allied army in detail, but Wellington held his own against the

furious attacks of the French forces. As the day wore on, and he saw his squares melting away, as soldier after soldier silently stepped into the place of his fallen comrade, while the expected Prussian reinforcements still delayed their coming, the English commander exclaimed, "O that night or Blücher would come!" At last Blücher did come, and as Grouchy, on whose aid Napoleon was counting, did not, Waterloo was won by the combined strength of the allies, and Napoleon's sun went down never to rise again. When all was over, Wellington said to Blücher, as he stood by him looking down upon the field covered with dead and dying, "A great victory is the saddest thing on earth, except a great defeat."

In 1819, the first ocean steamship, an American vessel of about 300 tons, the *Savannah*, crossed the Atlantic from the United States to Liverpool. Dr. Lardner, an English scientist, had proved to his own satisfaction that ocean steam navigation was impracticable. The book in which he demonstrated it was brought to America by the *Savannah* on her return voyage, and, twenty-one years later, the establishment of the Cunard and other great lines, one of which during a space of forty-five years has never lost a letter or a passenger, has shown conclusively that Providence is on the side of steam when steam has men that know how to handle it.

In 1820 George III. died at the age of seventy-eight. During ten years he had been blind, deaf and insane. Once, in a lucid interval, he was found by the queen singing a hymn and playing an accompaniment on the harpsichord. He then knelt and prayed aloud for her, for his family and for the nation ; and in closing, for himself, that it might please God to avert his heavy calamity, or grant him resignation to bear it. Then he burst into tears, and his reason again fled. In consequence of the incapacity of the king, his eldest son was appointed Prince Regent, and on the king's death he came to the throne.

George IV., 1820-1830. Was a dissolute spendthrift, who cared for little beside his own ignoble gratification, and used all his influence to retard measures of political reform. In 1785 he was illegally married to Mrs. Fitzherbert. Ten years later he married his cousin, the unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick. He separated from her in a twelvemonth. The first act of his reign was to exclude her name from the liturgy, and next to apply for a divorce on the ground of her unfaithfulness. No sufficient evidence was adduced against her, and the ministry declined to take action ; but it was decided that she could not claim the honors of coronation, to which as queen-consort she had a prescriptive, but not a judicial right. By advice of her counsel, she pre-

sented herself at the entrance of Westminster abbey as the coronation ceremony was about to begin; but admission was denied to her, and she retired to die, heart-broken, a few days after.

In 1828 the Corporation and Test Acts were repealed. These had required of all military, civil and corporation officers subscription and conformity to the Church of England. At the same time the Catholic-Emancipation party demanded that Roman Catholics might sit as representatives in Parliament. The measure was finally carried in 1829.

At about this time inventors were discussing plans for placing a steam-engine on wheels, and making it draw heavy loads. George Stephenson, who had made several experiments as early as 1814, succeeded at last in getting an Act of Parliament for constructing a railway between Liverpool and Manchester. But when the road was completed it was with the greatest difficulty that he obtained leave to use an engine instead of horse-power thereon. Finally, his new locomotive, "The Rocket,"<sup>1</sup>—which first employed the exhaust-steam to increase the draught of the fire,—was tried with entire success. In September, 1830, the line was opened, and the Duke of Wellington was one of the few passengers who ventured on the trial trip.

<sup>1</sup> "The Rocket" is preserved, together with Watt's first steam-engine, in the Patent Office Museum, London.

On June 26, 1830, George IV. died. Of him it may well be said, though in a different sense from what Shakespeare intended, that "nothing in his life became him like the leaving it."

**William IV.,** Third son of George III. He had passed 1830-1837. most of his life on shipboard, having been placed in the navy by his father when a mere lad. He came to the throne at the age of sixty-five. He was somewhat rough and overbearing in his manners, and he certainly had no aversion to low company; but his faults were all on the surface. He was frank, straightforward, and generally liked; and was familiarly known as "the Sailor King."

In 1832 the Reform Bill was carried by the king and Commons against the determined opposition of the Lords. Until this time the political representation of the country had been shamefully unequal and unjust. The borough of Old Sarum, for instance, still continued, as of old, to send two members to Parliament for five hundred years after the place had ceased to have a single inhabitant; another had for generations been covered by the sea, and still another was only a ruined wall in a gentleman's park. On the other hand, there were large towns, such as Birmingham, that had no representative.

This singular state of affairs began in the custom of the king's assigning to such towns and boroughs



as he chose to favor, the right of sending members to Parliament; and these rights were retained unchanged, though the number of inhabitants had greatly diminished, while new towns had sprung up and increased, especially in the north and midland counties.

As a general rule, these "rotten boroughs" were in the hands of the nobility, and large land-owners who were resolved not to give them up. Their opponents were equally determined. In a speech at Taunton, Rev. Sidney Smith compared the resistance to this reform by the Lords, to Mrs. Partington's effort to drive back the rising tide of the ocean with her mop. It rose, and she rose against it; but after all the Atlantic got the best of it. So in this case, the people, like the Atlantic, carried the day. The "rotten boroughs" were swept away, and with them the disgraceful scenes formerly attendant on elections. To such an extent had corruption and violence been carried, that the smaller towns were sometimes under the control of drunken ruffians for several weeks. During that time they paraded the streets in bands, and assaulted voters of the opposite party with clubs, or kidnapped them, and perpetrated such outrages that voters often did not dare approach the polls.

The House of Lords refused, during a long time, to assent to the Reform Bill and finally yielded only

through fear that the king would create enough new peers to secure a majority for the measure.

With its passage a great and beneficent change came. The landed interests no longer had absolute control of the elections; but the commercial and manufacturing classes obtained a large influence which has since steadily increased. Political parties now assumed new names. The terms *Whig* and *Tory* were dropped; and *Liberal* and *Conservative* took their place.

At the beginning of the reign of William IV. England had but one railway — the Liverpool and Manchester; but so rapid was the growth of this new mode of communication, that in five years London and the principal seaports were thus connected with all the great manufacturing towns, while steam navigation had nearly doubled its vessels and its tonnage.

In 1833 Buxton, Wilberforce, Brougham and other philanthropists, against the strenuous opposition of the king, secured the passage through Parliament of a bill, for which they, with the younger Pitt, Clarkson and Zachary Macaulay had labored in vain for a half century, whereby all negro slaves in British colonies, which now numbered eight hundred thousand, were set free, and twenty millions of pounds sterling were appropriated to compensate the owners. It was a grand deed grandly done, and

America, had she followed the noble example, might thereby have saved a million of human lives and three thousand millions of dollars, which were cast into the gulf of civil war, while the corrupting influence of five years of waste and discord would have been avoided.

But negro slaves were not the only slaves in those days. There were white slaves as well,—women and children born in England, but condemned by their necessities to work under ground in the coal mines, or exhaust their strength in the cotton mills, driven by brutal masters who cared as little for the welfare of those under them as the overseer on a Southern plantation did for his gangs of toilers in the rice-swamps. Parliament at length turned its attention to these abuses and greatly alleviated them by the passage of acts, forbidding the employment of women in the collieries, and of young children in the factories. In an overcrowded country like England, the lot of the poor must continue to be exceptionally hard, but there is no longer the indifference toward it that once prevailed. Poverty there may still be a crime, but it is regarded now as a crime having extenuating circumstances.

Victoria,  
1837 to the  
present time.

Victoria, niece of William IV. and George IV. In her veins flows the blood of Cerdic the Saxon, and William the Conqueror,—a fact

which strikingly illustrates the vitality of the hereditary principle in the history of the English Crown. A foreign race has invaded the island and seized the throne, the religion of Rome has given way to that of Luther, revolutions have come and gone, civil war has swept over the land, one king has been beheaded and another has fled, a republic has been established, new political parties have risen to power, Parliament has changed the succession and excluded the Stuarts, yet at the end of more than ten centuries we find England still governed by a descendant of her earliest rulers.

At five o'clock on the morning of June 20, 1837, the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, a girl of eighteen, was roused from her sleep to receive the tidings that by the sudden death of her uncle, William IV., she had become queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

At her accession a new order of things began. William IV. and the Georges had insisted on dismissing their ministers when they pleased without giving any reason for the change. That system of "personal government" died with the late king. With Victoria, the principle was established that the sovereign cannot exercise the power of removal without the consent of the House of Commons, nor would the Crown now venture to retain a ministry which the Commons refused to support.

In 1840 the queen married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, a duchy of central Germany. The Prince was about her own age, of fine personal appearance, and had just graduated at one of the German universities. He was particularly interested in Art and Education, and throughout his life used his influence to raise the standard of both.

The same year Sir Rowland Hill introduced a uniform system of cheap postage by which a letter could be sent for a penny to any part of the United Kingdom. Since then cheap newspapers, telegrams, and transportation by Parcel-Post have followed,—all improvements of immense practical benefit.

The feeling attending the passage of the Reform Bill, near the close of the last reign, had passed away; but now a popular agitation began, which produced even greater excitement. A radical party called Chartists had arisen, who embodied their measures in the “People’s Charter,” which demanded universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments with payment of members, the abolition of property qualification and the division of the country into equal electoral districts.

While the country was discussing these propositions, the government declared war against China, on account of the refusal of that country to admit

opium from India. By a series of petty victories England succeeded in forcing the drug into the Chinese ports, and reaped a proportionate increase of revenue as the reward of her iniquity.

In 1848 the French Revolution, which dethroned Louis Philippe, imparted fresh impetus to the Chartist movement. The leader of it was an Irishman named Feargus O'Connor. He formed the plan of sending a monster petition to Parliament, containing, it was said, nearly six millions of signatures praying for the passage of the People's Charter. A procession of a million of signers was to act as escort to the document. The government became alarmed at so formidable a demonstration, and forbade it on the ground that it was an attempt to coerce legislation. In order that peace might be preserved, two hundred thousand special policemen were sworn in, among whom was Louis Napoleon, then a refugee in England. The Bank of England, the British Museum, the Houses of Parliament, and other public buildings were made ready to withstand a siege, and the Duke of Wellington took command of a large body of troops to defend the city.

It was now the Chartists' turn to be frightened. When they assembled on Kennington Common, they numbered less than thirty thousand, the procession of a million dwindled to half a dozen, the huge peti-

tion, when unrolled and examined, was found to contain only about one-third of the boasted number of names, and, on further examination, it was found that many of them were spurious, having been put down in jest, or copied from grave-stones and old directories. With that discovery, the whole movement collapsed, and the Commons, like the Homeric heavens, rang with “inextinguishable laughter” over the national scare.

Still the demands of the Chartists had a solid substratum of good sense, which not even the blustering braggadocio of its leaders could wholly destroy. The reforms asked for in the petition have to a great extent been accomplished by the steady, quiet influence of reason and of time.

The printed ballot has been substituted for the old method of *viva-voce* voting, the property qualification has been reduced to a point within the means of the poorest day-laborer, the right of suffrage has recently been so extended that it needs but one step more to make it universal, and before the century closes probably every man in England will have a voice in the elections.

Up to this time protective duties existed in England on all imported breadstuffs and on many manufactured articles. Sir Robert Peel, who became prime-minister five years after Victoria's accession,

avored a reduction of the last class of duties, but believed it necessary to maintain the former. The result of this mistaken policy was great distress among workingmen, and the formation of an Anti-Corn Law League<sup>1</sup> by Richard Cobden and John Bright. Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymer, gave voice to the sufferings of the poor in rude but vigorous verse, which appealed to the feelings of thousands crying like him:—

“England! what for mine and me,  
What hath bread-tax done for thee?  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Cursed thy harvests, cursed thy land,  
Hunger-stung thy skill’d right hand.”

Still the government was not convinced of the need of change. At last the Irish famine opened the premier’s eyes. Through the failure of the potato crop for 1845 and several successive years, the people of Ireland were reduced to terrible destitution. As matters grew worse, the starving peasants left their miserable huts, and streamed into the towns for relief only to die of hunger in the streets. Parliament responded nobly to the piteous calls for help, and voted no less than £10,000,000 for the purchase of food. America also sent ship-loads of provisions, yet, notwithstanding all efforts, upwards of two millions

<sup>1</sup> Corn is the generic name given in England to wheat, rye, barley, and all grains used for bread.



of people, or a quarter of the entire population of the island, perished.<sup>1</sup> In the face of such appalling facts, the prime-minister could hold out no longer, and the Corn Laws were repealed.

The beginning once made, free trade in nearly everything except wine, spirits and tobacco, followed. These were, and still are, subject to duty, probably because the government felt as Napoleon did, that the vices have broad backs, and should carry the heaviest taxes. But, by a singular contrast, while nearly all goods now enter England free, yet Australia and several other colonies continue to impose duties on imports from the mother-country.

In 1851 the great industrial exhibition, known as the World's Fair, was opened in Hyde Park, London. The original plan of it was conceived by Prince Albert, and it proved a complete success. For the first time in history the products and inventions of all nations were brought together under one roof in a gigantic structure of glass and iron, still preserved at Sydenham.

The same year the barbarous tax on light and air, known as the Window Tax, was repealed, and from this time the Englishman, whether in London or out, could enjoy his sunshine, — when he could get it, — without having to pay for it as a luxury.

<sup>1</sup> See McCarthy's History of Our Own Times.

In 1853 Turkey declared war against Russia. The latter power had insisted on protecting all Christians in the Turkish Dominions against the oppression of the sultan. England and France considered the czar's championship of the Christians as a mere pretext for occupying Turkish territory. To prevent this aggression they formed an alliance with the sultan, which resulted in the Russo-Turkish war, and ended by the taking of Sebastopol by the allied forces. Russia was obliged to retract her demands, and peace was declared in the spring of 1856.

The following year was memorable for the outbreak of the Sepoy rebellion in India. The real cause of the revolt was probably a long-smothered feeling of resentment on the part of the Sepoy, or native, troops against English rule,—a feeling that dates back to the extortion and misgovernment of Warren Hastings. The immediate cause of the uprising was the introduction of an improved rifle using a greased cartridge, which had to be bitten off before being rammed down. To the Hindoo the fat of cattle or swine is an abomination, and his religion forbids his tasting it. An attempt on the part of the government to enforce the use of the new cartridge brought on a general mutiny. During the revolt the native troops perpetrated the most horrible atrocities on the English women and chil-

dren who fell into their hands. When the insurrection was finally quelled under Havelock and Campbell, the English soldiers retaliated by binding numbers of prisoners to the mouths of cannon and blowing them to shreds. At the close of the rebellion the government of India was wholly transferred to the crown, and in 1876 the queen received the title of Empress of India.

In 1858 the first Atlantic cable was laid connecting England with America. Three years after that event, in whose celebration the queen took part, the prince consort suddenly died. Since then no court has been held, and so complete has been the queen's seclusion that in 1868 Sir Charles Dilke moved in Parliament that her majesty be invited to abdicate or choose a regent. The motion was indignantly rejected, but it revealed the feeling which exists, that "the real queen died with her husband, and that only her shadow remains."

The period of the American civil war reflected little credit on the English government. At the commencement of hostilities the premier, Lord John Russell, utterly failed to understand the true nature of the struggle, and insisted that "the North was fighting for empire, and the South for independence," — a saying which would have applied with much greater truth to England in her relations to Ireland.

In 1861 England and France recognized the Confederate States as belligerents, thus placing them on the same footing as the loyal States of the North. Prince Albert, whose death occurred not long after the beginning of the war, John Stuart Mill, John Bright, and the starving weavers of Lancashire stood squarely by the Union, though the latter were suffering terrible destitution from the stoppage of the mills from want of supplies of southern cotton. The majority of the distinguished political and social leaders, Lord Brougham, Carlyle, Ruskin, with the London Times, Punch, and other influential journals and the whole body of blockade-running manufacturers and merchants either openly sustained the South, or showed by their reticence that their sympathies were all on that side.

Late in the autumn of that year Captain Wilkes of the United States Navy boarded the British mail steamer *Trent*, and seized the rebel commissioners, Mason and Slidell, who were on their way to England. On the remonstrance of the English government, the commissioners were given up and an apology tendered by Secretary Seward.

During the progress of the war, many fast-sailing vessels had been fitted out in England and employed in running the blockaded ports of the South, supplying them with goods and arms and ammunition.

Later a gunboat named the *Alabama* was built on the Clyde and sold to the South for the purpose of attacking the commerce of the United States. Though notified of her true character, Lord Palmerston, who was then in power, allowed her to leave port on the pretext that she was going for a trial trip. She set sail on her career of destruction, and after the close of the war the United States recovered damages from England through an International Court of Arbitration, to the amount of £3,500,000.

In 1867 the Electoral Reform Bill passed, conferring the right of suffrage on a large class of working men and other persons of moderate means, and recently a second bill has been passed, extending the same right much further. The next year an act for the abolition of compulsory church rates was carried. In 1870 a system of public schools was established under the direction of a government board, and hence commonly known as "Board Schools" to distinguish them from the National or Church schools. By this system, elementary education is made compulsory and is brought within the means of all.

In 1871, under the ministry of Mr. Gladstone, the Irish branch of the Church of England was disestablished, thus placing all religious denominations

in that country on a basis of equality, so that the Englishman residing there can no longer claim the privilege of worshipping God at the expense of his Roman Catholic neighbors.

But the Irish troubles are chronic, and one measure of relief only brings another grievance into stronger light. Poverty and poor crops, with high rents, led finally to the formation of the Irish Land League which, failing to secure the reforms it demanded, determined to refuse to pay any rent whatever, and led to a wild outbreak of agrarian crime. Parliament now passed the Irish Land Bill to secure what was called the three F's, — Fair-rent, Fixity-of-tenure, and Free-sale. The measure also provided that tenant farmers compelled by their landlords to vacate, should receive compensation for the improvements they had made. But experience has proved that additional legislation is necessary to make the measure of practical benefit to those it was intended to help.

Within the past two years members of the Irish Fenian and Communist leagues have perpetrated a number of dynamite outrages in London with the view of intimidating the government. These dastardly acts of indiscriminate destruction and murder are regarded with horror by that portion of the Irish people who have faith that the logic of events will

eventually obtain home-government for themselves and their countrymen.

But progress in England is not confined to political reform. During the past twenty-five years the systems of law and judicature have been reconstructed from base to summit, and the abuses which made Hume declare in debate, that the English Court of Chancery was "the greatest curse that ever fell on a nation," and which furnished Dickens with the materials for "Bleak House," have passed away.

Immense improvements have been made in other directions. Free libraries, reading rooms, art galleries, are now open in all large cities. Sanitary regulations, with house-to-house inspection, have thrown new safeguards around human life. Hospitals and charitable institutions provide for the sick and suffering poor. Prison discipline has ceased to be the terrible thing it was when Charles Reade wrote "Never Too Late to Mend," and even the convict in his cell no longer feels that he is utterly outcast and friendless. The best men and best minds in England, without distinction of rank or class, are now laboring for the advancement of the nation, and with them the conviction constantly gains strength that the welfare of each depends on the welfare of all, and that the higher a man stands and the greater his privileges, so much the more he is bound to extend a helping hand to those less favored than himself.

Yet in all the changes that are taking place, there is little if any disposition shown to break the bond of historic continuity which connects the England of to-day with the England of the past. "Do you think we shall ever have a second revolution?" was a question once asked of the Duke of Wellington. "We may," answered the great general; "but if we do, it will come by Act of Parliament."

That reply well expresses the general temper of the people, who feel that theirs is

"A land of settled government,  
A land of just and old renown:  
Where freedom broadens slowly down,  
From precedent to precedent."

Here in America, we are sometimes in danger of losing sight of what those who have gone before have done for us. We forget that English history is in a very large degree our history, and that England is, as Hawthorne liked to call it, — "Our Old Home."

In fact, if we go back less than three centuries, the record of America is blended and lost in that of the mother country that gave us Washington, Franklin, the Adamses, and John Harvard. Standing on her soil surrounded with familiar names, we have a right to feel that all that she possesses



is ours; that Westminster abbey belongs as much to us as to her, for our ancestors helped to build its walls and to raise its towers; that Shakespeare and Milton belong to us also, for they wrote in the language we speak, for the instruction and delight of our fathers' fathers, who beat back the Spanish Armada, and gave their lives for liberty on the fields of Marston Moor and Naseby.

Let it be granted that grave issues have arisen in the past to separate us, yet after all our interests and our sympathies, like our national histories, have more in common than they have apart. The progress of each country now reacts for good on the other. If we consider the total combined population of the United States and of the British Empire, we find that to-day upwards of ninety millions of people speak the English tongue. They hold possession of over twelve millions of square miles of territory—an area equal to the united continents of North America and Europe. By far the greater part of the wealth and power of the globe is theirs. In view of these facts let us say with Archdeacon Farrar, "Whatever there be between the nations to forget and forgive, is forgotten and forgiven. If the two peoples, which are one, be true to their duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands?"

## XI.

## THE PEERS, THE PEOPLE, AND THE GOVERNMENT.

THE English peerage originated in the Norman Conquest. William rewarded the chief men who accompanied him with immense estates granted to them on two conditions; one of military service, the other of their attendance at the king's council, a body which contained the germ of the present parliamentary system. It will be seen from this, that one of the most important features of the Conqueror's method of government was, that he made the possession of landed property directly dependent on the discharge of public duties.

The conquest was simply the carrying out of that principle which Wordsworth has so well expressed,—

“That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can,” —

joined to the higher principle that in return for such taking and keeping the victors should consider themselves responsible for the defence, and the good government of the state. The first barons<sup>1</sup> were

<sup>1</sup> The word barons, as here used, comprises bishops as well, who, with the two archbishops, constitute the “Lords Spiritual.” The

probably about four hundred in number,<sup>1</sup> and they with the king, to whom they were strictly subordinate, held the whole country in their hands. As this body of nobles were all equal in their position, they constituted the peers<sup>2</sup> of the realm. Later, the king issued his writ to certain persons to attend Parliament, and the production of that writ constituted their right to sit there. These peers were called "barons by writ," to distinguish them from the barons by land tenure. The earliest of such writs are found in the reign of Henry III. But in 1387, Richard II. created one of the Beauchamps baron by letters patent,<sup>3</sup> and after that date many more were raised to the peerage in that way.

present order of rank is Lords Spiritual and Lords Temporal. Of the latter, the order is now as follows: Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, the last being the oldest, but to-day, the lowest title.

<sup>1</sup> The names of William's principal men are preserved in Domesday Book and in the Roll of Battle Abbey; but the latter was tampered with by the monks, and the list is of doubtful historical value. A similar list may be found inscribed on the western wall of the twelfth century church at Dives, Normandy, where the Conqueror built his ships and gathered his army for the expedition.

<sup>2</sup> Peers, *i.e.*, *pares*, equals. The word first occurs in 1322, in an Act against the Despensers, and again in the Act of deposition of Richard II., "*pares et proceres regni Angliae spirituales et temporales.*"

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, an open letter, bearing the king's great seal, and addressed by him to all his subjects, declaring the person named in it to be raised to the peerage.

During the Wars of the Roses in the fifteenth century, the ancient nobility destroyed each other so utterly that as Lord Beaconsfield says in "Coningsby," "A Norman baron was almost as rare a being in England then as a wolf is now." At the present time the peers, with very few exceptions, do not date back farther than the Tudors. Henry VII. created many, endowing them with lands that had fallen to the crown through the extinction of the old families on the battle-field. Henry VIII. did the same by his favorites, giving them the confiscated property which had belonged to the monasteries. The greater part of those who now sit in the House of Lords are of comparatively recent origin, and received their titles under George II. or III. oftentimes in return for services rendered the government.

Politically speaking, the nobility of England, unlike the ancient *noblesse* of France, is confined to the male head of the family. None of the children of a duke or lord have during his life any civil or legal rights or privileges above that of the poorest and obscurest of her majesty's subjects. They are simply commoners. But by courtesy, the eldest son of a nobleman receives a part of his father's title, and at his father's death enters into possession of his estate, and takes his place in the House of Lords, having in most cases been a member of the Lower

House by election for a number of years before. The younger sons inherit no hereditary title or landed property, and usually obtain offices in the civil-service, or positions in the Church or the army.

The whole number of peers is about five hundred. Their average incomes are estimated at £22,000, or an aggregate of £11,000,000, an amount not greater, probably, than the combined incomes of five or six leading American capitalists.

Some of these men have risen by dubious ways, and the bar-sinister ought by right to be the most prominent feature in their escutcheons; but the great majority are gentlemen in the best sense of the word, and would do honor to any country and any age. Whatever be their faults as a class, they are not a close corporation, and they have seldom failed to give a hearty recognition to real merit. As every conscript in Napoleon's army carried a potential marshal's baton in his knapsack, and as every boy born in America feels himself a possible president, so every Englishman who has commanding ability may, like Pitt, Disraeli, Churchill, Nelson, Wellesley, Brougham and Macaulay, hope to win and wear a coronet. In fact, one of the most remarkable things about the peerage is the fact that it has constantly recruited its ranks from the body of the people, and

that brains and character go to the front in England just as surely as they do here.

Although the Peers in their legislative action have generally shown themselves ultra conservative, yet they realize that their interests are indissolubly bound up with those of the nation, and their caution and delay have often put a needed check on hasty and ill-considered legislation.

They opposed the Habeas Corpus Act under Charles II., the great Reform Bill of 1832, and more recently the extension of the Franchise under the ministries of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone; but, on the other hand, it was their influence that compelled John to grant the Great Charter, it was one of their number who called the House of Commons into being, and under the misgovernment of James II., it was the Lords as leaders, acting jointly with the Commons, who inaugurated that revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne, and finally established constitutional sovereignty in place of arbitrary self-will.

Socially, there are few idle rich men among the English aristocracy. On the contrary, many are as hard workers from a sense of duty and of honor, as any laborer who toils for his daily bread. England lays strong emphasis on nobility of rank and blood, but she is never forgetful of nobility of character.

Perhaps it is the consciousness of this which has led men like Gladstone to repeatedly decline a title, content, as many of the descendants of the old Saxon families are, with the influence won by an unsullied name, and a long and illustrious career.

#### THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

When we first opened the history of England, we found, as we have seen, the country inhabited by barbarous tribes of whose origin we know nothing.

In many respects, their condition was but little superior to that of the American Indians, when Columbus discovered the New World. They had the equality which everywhere prevails among savages, where all are alike poor and alike ignorant. The unity that existed between them was something like that found among a pack of wolves, or a herd of buffalo, — it was instinctive rather than intelligent, and it was destitute of any marked traits of individuality or of independent choice.

Gradually, and by steps which we need not follow, these tribes learned to make tools and weapons, to cultivate the soil, and to build villages of huts, protected by rude fortifications. Such was their condition when Cæsar invaded Britain. Under the Roman Conquest, the Britons made no real, permanent improvement, and whatever they seemed to

gain in arts and civilization was at the expense of their courage and their manhood.

With the commencement of the Saxon period a change took place. The invaders from the continent drove back the natives into the West and into the fastnesses of the Welsh hills. In certain sections they and their conquerors probably slowly mingled and became one people.

Under the Saxons or English, we find that in time a regularly organized state was developed. The chief of a district like Wessex or Sussex eventually became king, and in the course of centuries one of these kings obtained the mastery over the whole country, and was acknowledged as its ruler. Society developed with the state. The king held a court composed of the earls or chief landholders, and his laws were made with their counsel and assent. Below these were the thanes, or those nobles who acted as attendants on the king, and who received estates from him for their services. Next came the churls or small freeholders and farmers, while last were the serfs who were attached to the soil, and the thralls, who were absolute slaves. The last two classes increased, and eventually constituted the majority of the population.

The Norman Conquest brought a still further change. During the last part of the Saxon period



the feudal system of land tenure had come into existence. This consisted in holding land on condition of rendering military or other service to a superior, who in turn held nominally from the king. William organized this system on a permanent basis, but eliminated the weak element from it by compelling every tenant, from the highest to the lowest, to acknowledge him as in very truth the real owner and ruler of every acre of the island. So completely was this carried out, that at last even the Saxon yeomen or small farmers were obliged to hold their farms on this condition.

The most striking feature of the period was, that political liberty depended wholly on possession of the soil. The landless man had no recognized rights: so far as the state was concerned, his rank was simply zero.

Under Norman rule the supreme power was vested in the king, who called to his council the great barons who resided on their manors,<sup>1</sup> surrounded by their tenants, the greater part of whom were serfs bound to the soil. The tendency under William and his suc-

<sup>1</sup> *Manor*, from Norman French *manoir*, a habitation. This was the name given by the Normans to the Saxon villages; but as all the land in England was ultimately divided among the conquerors, or held subject to them, the word manor came to mean a baronial estate with its tenantry, part of whom would be freemen and part serfs.

cessors was for the yeomen to decrease in numbers while the serfs gradually rose to the dignity of free tenants.<sup>1</sup>

Still, there was yet no English people; that is, no great body of inhabitants united by common descent, by common interests, by pride of nationality and love of country. On the contrary, there were only classes separated by strongly marked lines. Those above spoke a different language from those below, and looked upon them with that contempt with which the victor naturally regards the vanquished, while those below returned the feeling with "sullen hate and fear."

The rise of the people was very obscure and very gradual. It began in the rights secured to the lower classes in the conflicts between the barons and the crown; since in those conflicts the former believed it for their interest, to a certain extent, to form an alliance with their vassals; next it sprang from the employment of yeomen in the foreign wars, in which the barons found them an auxiliary of the greatest value; and finally it came from the growth of free cities, that is, cities to which the king had granted certain privi-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, they became tenants by copyhold, that is, by certain conditions of service or rent, which were entered on the books of the court-roll of the lord of the manor, and of which the tenants held, or were supposed to hold, a copy. Disputes in regard to such matters were tried in the court of the manor.

leges, as in the case of Richard I., in return for the payment of a sum of money or the promise, made, or implied, of military support.

Then in Magna Carta we find certain stipulations respecting the immunities and rights of freemen,<sup>1</sup> which may perhaps be regarded as the entering wedge of the movement which slowly but surely put power into the hands of those who had never before held it. The next advance was in the establishment of the House of Commons, to which the inhabitants of towns sent representatives, thus securing a voice in the government of the kingdom.

At first, Parliament had no law-making but only a petitioning power; the king still acted as legislator for the nation, though in all specially solemn acts the assent and co-operation of Parliament was sought, and it was agreed that Parliament alone could levy taxes and compel payment, — an agreement frequently violated by the king both in spirit and in letter. “Little by little the power of Parliament grew. The obsequious Parliament of Henry VII. and of VIII. became the murmuring Parliament of Mary, the grumbling Parliament of Elizabeth, and the rebellious Parliament of Charles I.”<sup>2</sup> Little by little the Commons, who at first hardly dared lift

<sup>1</sup> “*Liber homo*,” Magna Carta, clause 39.

<sup>2</sup> Bagehot, *The English Constitution*.

their eyes, still less their voices, in the presence of the haughty barons, began to exert their influence, and claim their rights as representatives of the people. Under James I. they secured the freedom of their own election, and immunity from arrest ; under Charles I. they extorted the consent of the king that they should not be dissolved without their consent.

While these changes were taking place in the legislative body, others not less important were occurring in the structure of society. In the fourteenth century Wat Tyler led the revolution against villanage, and at the close of the next hundred and fifty years the farm laborer, who in most cases had been a slave chained to the soil, became free, working for wages, and selling his time, strength and skill, to the highest bidder. In the middle of the fifteenth century Cade and his followers rose in revolt against the abuses of elections on the part of the great landowners, and obtained the reform they sought, which was that the representatives chosen to the Commons should be those whom the electors named.

The Wars of the Roses, by destroying the power of the barons, and breaking up their estates, and the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., and the sale or gift of their lands to new possessors, had a tendency to enlarge the influence of the people still further.

With the downfall of Charles I. and the establishment of the Commonwealth the people became the nominal rulers of England, although practically the country was governed by the army with Cromwell at its head. Still the victory of the Puritans or Roundheads over the Cavalier or Court party, marked the ascendancy of the democratic, in distinction from the aristocratic, or class element. With the flight of James II., the passage of the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement under William and Mary, the House of Commons in conjunction with the Lords declared themselves competent to fill the throne without regard to hereditary descent or "divine right."

Under George I. a still further gain was made, since then arose the government of a ministry or cabinet who were held answerable in some degree to the Commons for the policy of the crown.

Still the landed interest of England continued to be the real predominating power, as it had been throughout the middle ages. But with the invention of the steam-engine and the improvements in manufacturing machinery, large towns grew up in the midlands and north, that claimed their share in legislation. This brought the Reform Bill of 1832, which took much of the power from the landholders and distributed it among the middle classes.

With the accession of Victoria the principle was

established that the ministry should be held directly responsible to the House of Commons, and that they should not be appointed contrary to the wish, or be dismissed without the consent of the House. By the Franchise Acts of 1867 and of 1884, the centre of political gravity, as Lord Beaconsfield would say, shifted into the control of the working class, who now practically possess the balance of power as completely as they do in America. Thus, to-day, the people rule in England, or, in other words, the nation rules itself. It still continues, and perhaps always will, a monarchy in form, but it is a republic in fact.

In feudal times and in the days of chivalry, the motto of knighthood was *noblesse oblige*, or, in other words, nobility of rank demands nobility of character. To-day, the motto of the people should be, Liberty is Responsibility, for henceforth, both in England and in America, the people who govern are accountable if they fail to make use of their opportunities to govern well.

The danger of the past lay in the tyranny of the minority; the danger of the present lies in that of the majority. The great problem of our time is to learn how to reconcile the interests of each with the welfare of all. To do that, whether on an island or on a continent, whether in England or in America, is to build up the kingdom of justice and good-will upon the earth.

## THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

The English Government consists of three departments: Executive, Legislative, and Judicial.

*The Executive Department* is vested in an hereditary sovereign, who rules through a Ministry or Cabinet, composed as follows:—

- I. The Prime Minister.
- II. The Lord Chancellor.
- III. The Lord of the Privy Seal.
- IV. The President of the Council.
- V. The Home Secretary.
- VI. The Foreign Secretary.
- VII. The Colonial Secretary.
- VIII. The Indian Secretary.
- IX. The Secretary of War.
- X. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- XI. The First Lord of the Admiralty.
- XII. The President of the Board of Trade.
- XIII. The President of the Poor Law Board.
- XIV. The Postmaster-General.
- XV. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
- XVI. The Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The Cabinet is formed by the sovereign. The members constitute a standing committee of the Privy Council (a body of prominent men chosen by the crown as advisers). The Privy Council is

summoned only on important occasions, but the Cabinet proper holds frequent sessions.

The Cabinet exists by custom only, never having been recognized by any Act of Parliament, but the usage of the past hundred and fifty years has firmly established it as the real executive power.

The Cabinet, usually called "The Government," is held responsible for all the acts of the Crown, the theory being that "the king can do no wrong," or, as Fox put it, that "the king reigns, but does not govern." "The Government" remains in power only so long as it is sustained by a majority of the House of Commons. Whenever the vote of the House is cast against any important measure proposed by the Ministry, it is accepted by the latter as expressing "a want of confidence in the Government" on the part of the people.

Two courses are then open to the Ministry: they may resign at once (*e.g.*, as in the case of the recent Gladstone Ministry), in which case the sovereign calls on the leader of the opposite party to form a new Ministry (*e.g.*, such as the Marquis of Salisbury has just formed, at the request of the queen), or, if they do not think it expedient to resign, they may "appeal to the country," in which case the sovereign dissolves Parliament, and issues writs for a new election. Should the new House of Com-



mons, returned by the country, be in sympathy with the Ministry, they remain in office; if not, they promptly resign, and a new Ministry is formed from the opposite party.

It follows from the above that inasmuch as the Ministry must, in order to continue in power, be in harmony with the House of Commons, which directly represents the people, therefore the English Executive really reflects the popular will more closely and faithfully than the American Executive need necessarily do; for a president, if untrue to the majority of the party which elected him, cannot be removed except by impeachment, while the English Executive, in the person of its prime minister (with his associates), can be compelled to resign at any time when his measures become obnoxious to the mass of the people. In fact, as Macaulay says, a sovereign who should now refuse to carry out (through his ministers) the expressed will of the House of Commons would have to either fight or abdicate.

*The Legislative Department* is vested in a Parliament consisting of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The House of Lords is composed of lords spiritual and lords temporal.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, the Spiritual Peers consist of the Archbishops of Canterbury and of York with twenty-four Bishops. The Temporal Peers con-

The first, about thirty in number, are prelates of the Church of England. The number of lords temporal is unsettled, but is about five hundred; but there are sixteen Scottish peers and twenty-eight Irish, elected by the nobility,—the former for one year, the latter for life. The English peers are hereditary. The Lord Chancellor usually presides over the House of Lords.

The House of Commons consists of about six hundred and fifty members, representing counties, cities, boroughs, and the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Of their number, fifty are Scotch and one hundred Irish. The members of the House of Commons are not elected for any specific time, but no Parliament can sit longer than seven years. The usual annual session is from January to July. The Speaker of the House presides over the Commons.

No member of either House receives any salary or compensation for his services. No member of the House of Lords can be arrested for debt.

All money bills must originate in the House of Commons. The Lords may reject, but cannot alter them.

sist of five Princes of the Blood Royal, twenty-one Dukes, nineteen Marquises, one hundred and fifteen Earls, twenty-five Viscounts, two hundred and forty-eight Barons, twenty-eight Peers of Ireland and sixteen Peers of Scotland.

Every bill must be read, and passed by a majority vote, three times in each House, and receive the royal signature before it can become a law.

Although the sovereign has the right to withhold the royal signature, this right has not been exercised since the reign of Queen Anne.

By its control of the public funds, and by its ability through a ministry, necessarily in harmony with itself, to shape the entire policy of the government, the House of Commons is the actual ruling power of the United Kingdom.

*The Judicial Department* consists in England and Ireland of the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer; in Scotland, of the Court of Sessions and High Court of Judiciary.

In the rural districts courts are held twice a year by itinerant justices. The House of Lords is the highest law-court in the Empire. There are three kinds of law administered in England, — Common Law, based on custom or decision of courts; Statute Law, which consists of Acts of Parliament; and lastly, Equity, administered by the Lord Chancellor, in cases not covered by Statute, and where justice cannot be secured by Common Law.

The colonial possessions of England may be divided into two classes, — first, military and naval stations, such as Malta and Gibraltar in which the crown

has the entire control of the legislation (hence called *Crown Colonies*); second, colonies such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc., which are governed by a constitutional and representative government, chiefly, or wholly, of their own choice, and in which the crown has only a limited power, as of veto on legislation, or the control of the public offices. In the Empire of India the executive authority is vested in a Governor-General appointed by the Queen (as Empress of India), and in a Council of State appointed by the Secretary of State for India, in London.

## XII.

OUTLINE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

1. 878, Alfred. Treaty of Wedmore whereby Alfred ceded to the Danes all the country north of London, and of a line following the Roman road — Watling Street — from London, northwest, to Chester.

2. 890, Alfred. Alfred, with the assent of his Council of *Witan*, or *wise-men*, published his Code of laws.

3. 1050, Edward the Confessor. Edward the Confessor compiled a Code of laws. These have not been preserved. The code bearing his name is really of a later day.

4. 1066, William the Conqueror. William the Conqueror granted a Charter to the city of London, guaranteeing to the citizens all their former rights and privileges. The original, which consists of a few lines of Anglo-Saxon, is preserved in Guildhall, London. The following is a translation : —

“William, king, greets William, bishop, and Gosforth, *portreeve*,<sup>1</sup> and all the burghers within Lon-

<sup>1</sup> *Port-reeve*, a high office corresponding, perhaps, to the modern mayoralty.

don, French and English, friendly:—and I do you to wit that I will that ye be all law-worthy,<sup>1</sup> that were in King Edward's day:—and I will that every child be his father's heir,<sup>2</sup> after his father's day:—and I will not endure that any man do any wrong to you. GOD keep you." [Here follows the king's mark.] See Taswell-Langmead's Const. Hist. of England.

5. 1086, William the Conqueror. Domesday-book compiled. It is preserved in the Record-office, London; for full description of it, see Freeman's Norman Conquest.

6. 1087, William the Conqueror. All the landholders in England compelled to swear allegiance to the king at a great *gemót*, or meeting, at Salisbury.

7. 1100, Henry I. Charter of Henry I., of which this is the substance: (1) The Church to be free, *i.e.*, to fill its own vacancies. (2) Feudal laws relating to property to be justly enforced. (3) The laws of Edward the Confessor to be retained, with William the Conqueror's improvements. The Latin text hereof may be found in Stubbs' Select Charters.

<sup>1</sup> *Law-worthy*, *i.e.*, having the privilege of free men in the courts of justice.

<sup>2</sup> *His father's heir*; under the feudal system, the children were not necessarily heirs to their father's estate. This was a special concession.

8. 1136, Stephen. Stephen's Charter, which virtually repeated that of Henry I.

9. 1164, Henry II. The Constitutions of Clarendon. These laws or decrees issued at Clarendon Park by Henry II. had for their chief object the abolition of the power of the clergy to try, in courts held by themselves, all offences committed by any of their own number. Such were henceforth to be tried in the king's courts, unless referred by the justices thereof to the ecclesiastical courts. All appeals from the ecclesiastical courts must go to the king himself for final decision. In general, the purpose of these laws was to limit the jurisdiction of the Church and increase that of the civil powers.

10. 1191, Richard I. First legal recognition of the corporation of London. It marked the triumph of the mercantile over the aristocratic or feudal element.

11. 1213, John. Assembly of St. Albans. A united representation of townships. To this, the first representative assembly on record, says Prof. Stubbs, was submitted the first draft of the reform afterwards embodied in *Magna Carta*.

12. 1215, John. John compelled to sign MAGNA CARTA.<sup>1</sup> The great charter consists of sixty-three

<sup>1</sup> *Carta*, this is the spelling in the Mediæval Latin of the original and of all similar documents. Prof. Stubbs says that the whole

articles. The original manuscript, in Latin, is preserved in the British Museum. By its provisions, "1. *The freedom of election to benefices was secured to the clergy.* 2. *The fines to the overlord on the succession of vassals (or tenants) were regulated.* 3. NO AIDS OR SUBSIDIES ALLOWED TO BE LEVIED FROM THE SUBJECTS UNLESS IN A FEW SPECIAL CASES, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE GREAT COUNCIL. 4. *The Crown shall not seize the lands of a baron for a debt, while he has personal property sufficient to discharge it.* 5. *All the privileges granted by the King to his vassals shall be communicated by them to their inferior vassals.* 6. *One weight and one measure shall be used throughout the kingdom.* 7. *All men shall pass from, and return to, the realm at their pleasure.* 8. *All cities and boroughs shall preserve their ancient liberties.* 9. *The estate of every freeman (freeholder) shall be regulated by his will, and if he die intestate, by the law.* 10. *The King's Court shall be stationary, and open to all.* 11. *Every freeman shall be fined only in proportion to his offence, and no fine shall be imposed to his utter ruin.* 12. NO PEASANT (FREEMAN)<sup>1</sup> SHALL, BY A FINE, BE DEPRIVED OF HIS INSTRUMENTS OF HUSBANDRY. 13. *No person shall*

Constitutional History of England is but a commentary on the Great Charter.

<sup>1</sup> "*Liber Homo.*"



*be tried on suspicion alone, but on the evidence of lawful witnesses.* 14. NO FREE PERSON SHALL BE TRIED OR PUNISHED, BUT BY THE JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS AND THE LAW OF THE LAND. John granted at the same time the *Carta de Foresta*, which abolished the royal privilege of killing game all over the kingdom, and restored to the lawful proprietors their woods and forests, which they were now allowed to enclose and use at their pleasure.”<sup>1</sup>

13. 1258, Henry III. Parliament chose a committee of twenty-four to re-organize the government. The *Provisions of Oxford* were drawn up to reform grievances in Church and State.

14. 1265, Henry III. A Parliament met to which were summoned two knights from each county, and *for the first time representatives from cities and boroughs*. This was the origin of the HOUSE OF COMMONS.

15. 1295, Edward I. The first complete Parliament met, which consisted of the lords, the clergy, and the commons. In 1297 the king issued the *Confirmatio Cartarum* confirming previous charters. In this reign the Statute of *De Donis, i.e.*, Entail, was enacted, by which landed property was kept within the family in the line of the eldest son. The Statute

<sup>1</sup> For the Latin text of the Great Charter, with translation and commentary, see Taswell-Langmead's *Const. History of England*.

of *Quia Emptores*, which shortly followed, had for its object the prevention of the alienation of lands. By these two statutes the system of real property may be said to have been firmly established. The Statute of Mortmain, also passed in this reign, may be considered as the first property limitation directed against the power of the church.

**16.** 1349, Edward III. First Statute of Laborers, which assumed to fix rates of wages, and forbade the giving of alms to sturdy beggars.

**17.** 1351, Edward III. The Statute of Provisors,<sup>1</sup> to prevent encroachment by the pope on the right of patrons to fill benefices or church-livings.

**18.** 1353, Edward III. The Statute of *Præmunire*<sup>2</sup> (so called from its initial word), the object of which was to prevent the pope's usurping jurisdiction, either by holding (through legates) courts in England, or by deciding on cases brought to him from England. . . . Cardinal Wolsey's offence was *præmunire*, and at a later date the whole body of the clergy were charged with the same crime. . . . In 1393 this statute was re-enacted in more stringent form, the pope of Rome being specially mentioned.

**19.** 1401, Henry IV. First Act for punishing

<sup>1</sup> *Provisors*, from *pro-videre*, to look in advance; hence, to appoint to a benefice before it had become vacant.

<sup>2</sup> *Præmunire*, this word corrupted from *præ-monere*, to forewarn.

heretics with death (*de heretico comburendo*), under which, in the same year, William Sautre, a Lollard, was burned. This was the first execution for heresy in England. In 1414 an additional statute against heresy was passed, and many Lollards suffered.

**20.** 1534, Henry VIII. Parliament abolished the authority of the pope in England. The act affirms that “the bishop of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by GOD in the kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop.”

**21.** 1535, Henry VIII., by the Act of Supremacy, took upon himself the title, *Supreme Head of the Church of England*. In 1076 William I. had refused fealty to the pope, and had laid down certain stringent rules respecting the church. Later, however, the power of Rome re-asserted itself, and continued to increase until checked by the Statute of Mortmain under Edward I. [See No. 15.] When the Statute of Provisors was passed in 1343 [see No. 17], that, as Fuller quaintly says, drove the nail which the Statute of Præmunire [see No. 18] clinched, and the claims of the pope, which began to go back slowly under the Statute of Provisors, went back swiftly under that of Præmunire, and fell down altogether under Henry VIII.

**22.** 1539, Henry VIII. Act by which all monas-

teries were dissolved; their estates reverted to the king.

23. 1539, Henry VIII. *The Act of the Six Articles*, which affirmed (1) the *truth of the doctrine of Transubstantiation*. (2) That communion of both kinds was not necessary. (3) That priests might not marry. (4) That vows of chastity ought to be observed. (5) That private masses ought to be continued. (6) That auricular confession must be retained. The penalty for denying the first was death; for the rest, forfeiture of property for the first offence, for the second, death.

24. 1549, Edward VI. First prayer-book issued, and *Act of Uniformity* of service passed. By these, Protestantism was virtually established. [See No. 48.]

25. 1554, Mary. All statutes against the pope, since the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII., repealed. The forfeited monastic lands, however, to be retained by their then present owners.

26. 1555, Mary. The statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V. against heretics revived. . . . Under these many Protestants died at the stake. [See No. 19.]

27. 1559, Elizabeth. The Act of Supremacy (repealed by Mary) re-enacted. [See No. 21.]

28. 1559, Elizabeth. The Act of Uniformity (re-

pealed by Mary) re-enacted, and the prayer-book (suppressed by Mary) restored to use.

**29.** 1563, Elizabeth. The Thirty-nine Articles, embodying the Creed of the Church, as still formally retained, drawn up and adopted.

**30.** 1583, Elizabeth. The High-Commission Court established, whose function was to enforce the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.

**31.** 1601, Elizabeth. First regular Poor Law passed. It compelled able-bodied paupers to work, and relieved the wants of those unable to work.

**32.** 1628, Charles I. The PETITION OF RIGHT drawn up by Parliament, and reluctantly signed by the king. This provides (1) that no freeman be required to give any loan or "benevolence," gift or tax, without Act of Parliament requiring it. (2) That no freeman be imprisoned or detained contrary to the law of the land. (3) That soldiers or mariners be not billeted in private houses. (4) That commissions to punish soldiers and sailors, by martial law, be revoked, and no more issued. [For the full text of the Petition of Right, see Taswell-Langmead's Const. Hist. of England.]

**33.** 1641, Charles I. Parliament passed the *Triennial Act*, which required that a parliament be summoned every three years. This was repealed in 1664, under Charles II.

34. 1641, Charles I. The *Grand Remonstrance* drawn up by Parliament. It contained two hundred and six clauses relating the unconstitutional acts of the king, and demanded remedies. It was a vindication of Parliament in its resistance to the king, and an appeal to the people.

Parliament resolved that it would not be dissolved except by its own consent.

35. 1642, Charles I. Parliament sent nineteen propositions to the king at York, demanding certain reforms, which he rejected.

36. 1643, Charles I. Parliament entered into an agreement with the Scots for assistance, and signed the *Solemn League and Covenant*. They united to oppose the projects of the king.

37. 1647, Charles I. In this and the following year Parliament made many attempts to negotiate with the king, but in vain.

38. 1648, Charles I. Col. Pride expelled the Presbyterian majority from the Houses of Parliament.

39. 1648, Charles I. The Independent minority of the Commons (fifty-three members) voted to bring the king to trial. This being rejected by the House of Lords (twelve members), the Commons resolved that its enactments should have the force of law, without the consent of the king or of the lords.

40. 1649, Charles I. The House of Commons constituted itself a special *High Court of Justice*; tried the king, and sentenced him to be beheaded.

41. 1649, The Commonwealth. The House of Lords abolished, as "useless and dangerous."

42. 1649, The Commonwealth. The House of Commons resolved that government by a king or a single person is "unnecessary."

43. 1649, The Commonwealth. The House of Commons declared England to be a *Commonwealth and Free State*.

44. 1651, The Commonwealth. The House of Commons passed the *Navigation Act* (aimed at the Dutch), forbidding the importation of goods in any but English vessels or those of the country in which they are produced. [This act, with further restrictions, was afterward applied to the commerce of the American colonies, and was one of the causes of the American revolution.] It was modified in 1823, and repealed in 1849.

45. 1653, The Commonwealth. The House of Commons, by an act entitled the *Instrument of Government*, made Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of Great Britain and Ireland. Hereby the executive power was vested in the Protector, and a Council of State of twenty-one members, chosen for life. The legislative power remained with Parliament.

46. 1657, The Protectorate. Parliament offered the title of *king* to Cromwell, with a new Constitution explained in an instrument called the *Humble Petition and Advice*. This was a modification of the Instrument of Government. This he accepted, but at the request of the army, declined the title of king.

47. 1660, Charles II. *Military tenure of land*, and *feudal dues abolished*; and also the *right of purveyance*. [This was a monopoly for purchasing goods, etc., for the sovereign, at an appraised value, whether with or without the consent of the owner.] Feudalism had been dying out during two centuries; this Act formally ended it.

48. 1661, Charles II. The *Corporation Act* passed, requiring all holders of municipal office to renounce the covenant and take the sacrament, according to the Church of England. [This Act repealed in 1828.]

49. 1662, Charles II. The *Licensing Act* passed, whereby the entire control of printing was vested in the government. Printing might be done at four places only, viz.: London, York, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The number of master printers was limited to twenty. The Secretary of State was empowered to issue warrants for discovering and seizing libels against the government. [It was against this Act that Milton wrote his *Areopagitica*,



or plea for unlicensed printing. This Act was renewed from time to time, until 1695.] See chapter on the Rise of Freedom of the Press, in Taswell-Langmead's Constitutional History of England.

50. 1662, Charles II. The *Act of Uniformity* re-enacted, enforcing the use of the prayer-book, which had been suppressed during the Commonwealth. [Two thousand ministers resigned their livings rather than take oath to observe this Act.]

51. 1664, Charles II. The *Triennial Bill* repealed. [See Nos. 33 and 66.]

52. 1664, Charles II. The *Conventicle Bill* passed, forbidding religious assemblies other than of the Church of England. [Under this Act, John Bunyan and many others were imprisoned.]

53. 1665, Charles II. The *Five Mile Act* passed, forbidding ministers who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity [see No. 48], or taken the oath of non-resistance (*i.e.*, to the king), to teach in schools, or to settle within five miles of any corporate town.

54. 1672, Charles II. The *Declaration of Indulgence* passed, repealing all Acts against Non-conformists and Roman Catholics.

55. 1673, Charles II. The *Test Act* passed, requiring all persons holding office under the crown to take the sacrament according to the Church of England,

and disclaim belief in transubstantiation. [Repealed in 1828.]

56. 1678, Charles II. Act passed disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament (the Duke of York, a Roman Catholic, alone excepted).

57. 1679, Charles II. *Habeas Corpus Act* passed, requiring that any person, imprisoned for any crime, shall, before trial or conviction, be brought before a judge who shall enquire why he is detained. The object hereof is protection against unlawful imprisonment. [This Act was new in form only.<sup>1</sup>]

58. 1687, James II. A *Second Declaration of Indulgence* passed [see No. 54], suspending the penal statutes against Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters,—the design being to favor Romanism. [The attempt to enforce this Act brought on a crisis, and caused the king to leave the throne and the country.]

59. 1688, James II. *William of Orange* issued his *Declaration* recounting James's illegal acts, and declaring that, as the husband of Mary, he was coming with an army to secure a free and legal parliament, by whose decision he would abide.

60. 1688, The Interregnum. James having fled, the Convention Parliament (so-called because con-

<sup>1</sup> The substance of it being included in Magna Carta. See Sir James Mackintosh.

vened without being formally elected) met and drew up the *Declaration of Rights*, which settled the throne on William and Mary, — the executive power vested with William, — and these having accepted the Declaration, were proclaimed sovereigns on Feb. 13, 1689.

61. 1689, William and Mary. A new *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy* imposed on all officials in Church or State. Seven bishops and about three hundred clergy refuse to take it and form a body of *Non-jurors*.

62. 1689, William and Mary. The *Mutiny Bill* passed, whereby England is effectually protected against a standing army, since no pay can be issued to troops, and no punishment can be inflicted for mutiny, unless authorized by the *annual re-enactment of the bill*.

63. 1689, William and Mary. The *Toleration Act* passed, repealing penalties against Non-conformists in religion.

64. 1689, William and Mary. The BILL OF RIGHTS [see No. 60] enacted by Parliament.<sup>1</sup> This bill provides that, (1) the pretended power of the crown of suspending or dispensing with the law is illegal. (2) The late court of ecclesiastical commission, and all such courts, are illegal. (3) The levying of money under pretense of prerogative, without

<sup>1</sup> This Bill embodied the Declaration of Rights. See No. 60.

grant of Parliament, is illegal. (4) Keeping a standing army in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, is illegal. (5) Subjects have a right to petition the king. (6) The election of members of Parliament ought to be free. (7) Freedom of speech and debate in Parliament ought not to be questioned in any court or place out of Parliament. (8) Excessive fines must not be imposed, and jurors, in cases of high treason, must be free-holders. (9) For redress of all grievances and for the strengthening of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently. (10) William and Mary are declared king and queen of England, and all who are Papists, or who shall marry a Papist, are declared incapable of possessing the crown [see No. 70]. Thus MAGNA CARTA (No. 12), the PETITION OF RIGHT (No. 32), and the BILL OF RIGHTS, constituting, as they do, the only written CONSTITUTION that England possesses, are, in the words of Lord Chatham, THE BIBLE OF HER POLITICAL LIBERTIES.

65. 1694, William and Mary. The Governor and Company of the BANK OF ENGLAND were incorporated by royal charter, being an association of capitalists making a loan to government of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

66. 1694, William and Mary. The *Triennial Act* restored. [See No. 51.]

67. 1695, William and Mary. The House of Commons refuses to renew the Licensing Act [see No. 49], thus establishing the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

68. 1696, William and Mary. Act regulating *Trials for Treason* passed, which provides that the accused shall receive, several days before trial, a copy of the indictment, and also a list of the jury; and that the witnesses be examined on oath; and that at least two witnesses are needful to prove an overt act. This act inaugurated an important reform in political trials.

69. 1700, William and Mary. A severe *Act against Roman Catholics* passed, imposing the penalty of imprisonment for life against any priest who exercises his functions in England; requiring every papist, at the age of eighteen, to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation [see No. 55], etc., in default of which he is declared incapable of holding land by purchase or inheritance, and his property is to go to his next Protestant kin. No Roman Catholic may send his children abroad to be educated.

[This stringent act was seldom enforced, and was repealed in 1778. See No. 78.]

70. 1701, William and Mary. The *Act of Settlement* passed, whereby, on the death of Anne, the

crown is to pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her Protestant descendants [see Descent of English Sovereigns, George I., also No. 64, section 10].

[For full text of this Act, see Taswell-Langmead's Const. Hist. of England.] .

**71.** 1707, Anne. Bill for the UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND passed, the title of the united kingdom to be GREAT BRITAIN; Scotland to be represented in Parliament by forty-five members of the Commons, and in the House of Lords by sixteen of the peers of Scotland, chosen at each general election.

**72.** 1711, Anne. An *Act against Occasional Conformity* passed, whereby any civil or military officer or any magistrate of a corporation who, having received the sacrament according to the Test Act of Charles II. [see No. 55], should, during his term of office, attend any conventicle or dissenting meeting, should forfeit forty pounds sterling, and be incapable of holding any office or employment under government. [This Act repealed in 1718.]

**73.** 1716, George I. The *Septennial Act* passed, extending duration of Parliament to seven years.

**74.** 1720, George I. The *South Sea Company*, which had been incorporated in 1711 to trade in the South Seas, purchased part of the National Debt. A period of wild speculation followed which led to much distress, failure and ruin.

75. 1751, George II. The *NEW STYLE* adopted in the calendar, whereby the year is made to begin on the 1st day of January, instead of March 25th as before, and in the year 1752, eleven days, between the second and fourteenth days of September, were suppressed.

76. 1765, George III. The *Stamp Act* for America passed during Grenville's ministry, against the protest of six colonies. This act required all contracts, wills and other legal instruments to bear a stamp affixed by government for prescribed charge paid. [For a full account hereof, fac-simile of stamp, etc., see Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, Vol. II., appendix.]

[The Act was repealed in 1766.]

77. 1772, George III. The *Royal Marriage Act* passed, which forbade the marriage of any descendant of George II., without the consent of the reigning sovereign; unless said descendant be fully twenty-five years of age, and has given to the Privy Council twelve months' notice of intention of marriage, and the same has not been petitioned against by Parliament.

[The Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., violated this law by marrying Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic.]

78. 1778, George III. *Roman Catholic Relief*

*Bill* passed, repealing the stringent Act of 1700.  
[See No. 69.]

79. 1779, George III. An Act passed *relieving dissenting ministers and schoolmasters* from subjection to the Thirty-Nine articles.

80. 1780, George III. An Act passed annulling many restrictions previously existing on *trade with Ireland*.

81. 1783, George III. Recognition of the *Independence of the United States of America*.

82. 1784, George III. An Act placing the *government of India* under a Board of Control in England. [Its affairs had previously been managed by the East India Company.]

83. 1800, George III. The Act for the *Union of Great Britain and Ireland*, establishing free trade between them, and giving Ireland representation in Parliament by four bishops, twenty-eight peers, and one hundred commoners.

84. 1807, George III. The *Government Orders in Council* prohibit all trade with French ports. [This Act was in retaliation for Napoleon's Berlin decrees, which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade.]

85. 1807, George III. The Act *abolishing the Slave Trade* passed.

86. 1811, George III. The *Regency Bill* passed,



making the Prince of Wales regent, on account of the renewed attack of insanity of the king. [He became king on the decease of his father, George III., in 1820.]

87. 1812. The Regency. An Act for the further Relief of Dissenters passed.

88. 1819, The Regency. An Act called *The Six Acts* passed, relating to delays in the administration of justice, to seditious libels, the seizure of arms, etc.

89. 1829, George IV. The *Roman Catholic Relief Bill* passed, admitting Roman Catholics to Parliament, by new form of oath, and to nearly all civil and political offices.

90. 1829, George IV. The property qualification of voters in Ireland raised from forty shillings to ten pounds.

91. 1832, William IV. *The Reform Bill* passed whereby many "rotten boroughs" were disfranchised and representation in Parliament granted to Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, by two members each, and to nineteen other large towns; also extending the franchise to many small free-holders and tenants-at-will. [Before this, several places entirely without population had sent members to Parliament, while Birmingham and many other large towns had been unrepresented.]

92. 1833, William IV. The Act for the *Emanci-*

*pation of Slaves* in the British West Indies passed, and twenty millions of pounds sterling appropriated to compensate owners. [Hereby slavery throughout the British Empire ceased to exist August 1, 1834.]

93. 1834, William IV. The *Poor Law Amendment Act* passed, whereby parishes are joined in "Unions," with union work-houses; and out-door relief to the able-bodied is forbidden. [Previous hereto, the poor-rates, *i.e.*, taxes for support of paupers, had reached the enormous amount of eight million six hundred thousand pounds, and in many places equalled or exceeded the annual rent of the land.]

94. 1836, William IV. Bill for *Commutation of Church-tithes* passed, whereby church dues were made payable at a fixed rate in money, instead of tithes of grain, and other products of the farm.

95. 1837, Victoria. *Criminal Law Reform* enacted, whereby the pillory was abolished, and capital punishment for many crimes ceased. [So lately as the reign of George IV. capital punishment was inflicted for nearly two hundred several offences; and the starving wretch who stole a sack of flour was hanged side-by-side with highwaymen and murderers.]

96. 1839, Victoria. *Penny postage* established.

97. 1839, Victoria. The *Education Grant* increased.

**98.** 1846, Victoria. *Abolition of the Corn Laws.* [Previous to 1436 the exportation of corn (*i.e.*, grain, bread-stuffs) was forbidden. In 1463 its importation, except in some special cases, was forbidden. The laws were frequently changed, but often bad harvests caused lack of food, and distress resulted. At last, more than four centuries after the passage of the first law the great famine in Ireland compelled the ministry to propose the abolition of all duties on imported bread-stuffs.]

**99.** 1855, Victoria. *Repeal of the Newspaper Tax.* From this resulted rapid and great increase of cheap newspapers throughout the land, especially in London.

**100.** 1858, Victoria. *Abolition of the Property Qualification* for members of Parliament from England and Ireland.

**101.** 1859, Victoria. Act for *admitting Jews to sit in Parliament* passed.

**102.** 1861, Victoria. *Imprisonment of common debtors* abolished.

**103.** 1867, Victoria. *New Reform Bill* passed, which largely extended the franchise. [See No. 114.]

**104.** 1868, Victoria. *Compulsory Church-rates* abolished.

**105.** 1869, Victoria. Act *Disestablishing the Irish*

*Branch of the Church of England* passed, whereby the Catholics of Ireland are relieved of all contribution to the support of the Church of England, which (in Ireland) now depends on voluntary contribution.

**106.** 1870, Victoria. *Government, or Board-Schools* established. They are so termed because governed by a Board appointed by government. Elementary education is made compulsory, and brought within the means of all.

**107.** 1870, Victoria. *Irish Land Act* passed, whereby compensation is secured to the tenant for improvements made by him, and also for disturbance by act of the landlord, except in cases of eviction for non-payment of rent.

**108.** 1871, Victoria. *Abolition of Religious Tests* at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The honors and privileges of these time-honored seats of learning, formerly withheld from those who would not sign prescribed articles of belief, are henceforth open to all duly qualified applicants.

**109.** 1872. Victoria. The Geneva Tribunal awards £3,500,000 as damages due from England to the United States for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels employed by the Confederate States during the Civil War. This decision, says the London Times, establishes the principle that "neutrals are to be held responsible for negligence in allowing

vessels to be built or equipped in their dominions for purposes of hostility to a belligerent."

**110.** 1881, Victoria. *Second Irish Land Act*, (known as "the three F's," viz.: "Fair Rent," "Fixity of Tenure," and "Free Sale") passed, which provides, first, that a tenant may sell his interest to the highest bidder, and that the purchaser shall acquire all the seller's rights, as a present tenant; and, secondly, that the present tenant, or his assignee, may apply to a court to fix a judicial rent, subject to statute, for the term of fifteen years, during which time the tenant may not be disturbed, except through his own act. At the end of said term, the tenant may apply for renewal.

**111.** 1882, Victoria. Bill passed to facilitate free trade in land.

**112.** 1882, Victoria. The Crimes Act passed to repress outrages committed by the Irish Land League.

**113.** 1884, Victoria. The Corrupt Practices Act passed to punish bribery at elections, etc.

**114.** 1884, Victoria. The Franchise Bill passed. By this measure the borough franchise of 1867 [see No. 103] is extended to the counties. It particularly benefits the agricultural laborers, and others of small means living in the country, who have not hitherto had the suffrage.

**115.** 1885, Victoria. The Franchise Act took effect this year, and over 1,300,000 new voters were admitted to the polls in England. The total number of voters in the United Kingdom is now estimated at about 6,300,000.

# STATISTICS.



- I. England and Wales. Extreme length (*i.e.*,  
from Land's End to Berwick-on-Tweed) . 365 miles.  
England and Wales. Extreme breadth (*i.e.*,  
from Land's End to the easternmost part  
of Kent), about . . . . . 311 miles.

In general it may be said that no part of the country  
is more than 100 miles distant from the sea.

Area . . . . . 58,310 sq. miles.  
Population (official estimate for 1884) . . . 27,132,449  
Population to square mile, about . . . . 465  
Average increase of population for last de-  
cade, about . . . . . 13 per cent.

- II. Area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain  
and Ireland . . . . . 121,115 sq. miles.  
Population of the United Kingdom of Great  
Britain and Ireland . . . . . 36,300,000

- III. Area of the British Empire (Whitaker for  
1885)<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 8,990,211 sq. miles.  
Population of the British Empire (Whitaker  
for 1885) . . . . . 310,225,000

The area embraces considerably more than one-sixth  
of the land-surface of the globe, and the population com-  
prises nearly one-fifth of the total population of the  
world.

- IV. Population of the principal cities and towns  
of England and Wales (official estimate  
for 1884):—

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, Whitaker's Almanack, 1885.

1. London . . . . .	4,019,361
2. Liverpool (with Birkenhead, 90,870). . .	664,072
3. Manchester (with Salford, 197,153) . .	535,449
4. Birmingham . . . . .	421,258
5. Leeds . . . . .	327,324
6. Sheffield . . . . .	300,569
7. Bristol . . . . .	215,547
8. Bradford . . . . .	209,564
9. Nottingham . . . . .	205,298
10. Hull . . . . .	181,225
11. Newcastle . . . . .	151,525
12. Portsmouth . . . . .	133,059
13. Leicester . . . . .	132,772
14. Sunderland . . . . .	123,204
15. Oldham . . . . .	122,776
16. Brighton . . . . .	112,954
17. Blackburn . . . . .	110,498
18. Preston . . . . .	99,481
19. Cardiff (Wales). . . . .	93,468
20. Norwich . . . . .	90,410
21. Derby . . . . .	87,608
22. Huddersfield . . . . .	86,004
23. Wolverhampton . . . . .	78,367
24. Halifax . . . . .	76,479
25. Plymouth . . . . .	75,509
V. 1. Glasgow (Scotland) . . . . .	517,941
2. Edinburgh (Scotland) . . . . .	246,903
3. Dublin (Ireland) . . . . .	351,014

- VI. One-fourth of the entire urban population of England and Wales is in London, and about one-third in eighteen other large cities. The average annual growth of the principal cities is a little over . . . . 16 per cent.

In its comparative size London equals the united populations of the following American cities: New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, and San Francisco, and its present yearly increase is over 60,000.



- VII. Arable land. Of the cultivated land of England and Wales, something over one-fourth is held by 874 landowners, while a few over 10,000 persons, — who may be literally called the “upper ten thousand” — hold two-thirds of the whole.

On the average one person in twenty of the population is a land-owner.

- VIII. National debt (at the Revolution in 1688)  
 £664,263, or about . . . . . \$3,000,000  
 National debt in 1885, £840,850,591, or  
 about . . . . . \$4,000,000,000

Of this enormous sum, it is estimated that about \$4.07 out of every \$5.00 was incurred for war. During the present century Great Britain's total expenditure for war has been about three thousand millions of dollars, or somewhat more than the debt incurred by the United States during the Civil War. The total National Debt of Great Britain is now about double that of this country, and does not decrease, while, during the past ten years, the National Debt of the U. S. has been reduced 22 per cent.

- IX. Total revenue of Great Britain is nearly £110,000,000  
 Total expenditure on the army about . . £16,000,000  
 Total expenditure on the navy . . . £12,000,000  
 Interest charge on the National Debt . . £28,000,000

- X. Regular army . . . . . 201,905  
 Regular army reserve . . . . . 50,760  
 Navy (by far the most powerful in the world)  
 Ironclads (6 of over 10,000 tons, 22 of over  
 6,000 tons) . . . . . 73  
 Steamships . . . . . 309  
 Other vessels . . . . . 147  


---

 Total . . . . . 529

- XI. National Wealth. The total wealth of Great Britain is estimated by Mr. Giffen, head of the Statistical Department of

the Board of Trade, at £8,500,000,000, <sup>1</sup>	
or . . . . .	\$40,000,000,000
Total savings bank deposits, about £81,000,-	
000, or . . . . .	\$400,000,000

## XII. Education and Illiteracy (Great Britain):—

Average attendance at public elementary schools (1879) . . . . .	3,300,000
Percentage of adults unable to read or write,	17
Percentage in the United States over ten years of age (including negroes) about .	15
Pauperism and crime in England (1884):—	
Total number of persons relieved, about .	800,000
Total number of persons convicted of crime (1884) <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	11,500

About 3 out of every 100 now receive workhouse relief.

Total number of paupers in the United States (1880) . . . . .	88,665
Or 1 out of every 568.	

## Religion (England and Wales):—

Church of England (per cent of population),	77
Dissenters . . . . .	17
Roman Catholic . . . . .	4

## Vital statistics:—

Average death-rate per 1000 in England and Wales (1884) . . . . .	20
Average for the United States (1880) <sup>3</sup> . . .	18
Average wages of leading industries in Great Britain are about 77 per cent less than in the United States. <sup>4</sup>	

Average cost of living for same class something over 17 per cent less in Great Britain than in the United States (of which about 11.50 per cent is due to cheaper rent).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, 9th edition.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker.

<sup>3</sup> Scribner's Statistical Atlas, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> Statistics of the Labor Bureau, 1884, Carroll D. Wright.

It follows from the above that the wage-earning class are more prosperous in the United States, while the class who live on fixed incomes can live better for a given sum in Great Britain, the purchasing power of money being about 17 per cent greater there than here.

In production of wealth through commerce,  
manufacture, agriculture, and all other

branches, Great Britain stood (1880)<sup>1</sup>, £2,024,000,000

As compared with the United States . £2,004,000,000

In the department of textiles and hardware,

Great Britain stood . . . . . £368,000,000

The United States . . . . . £224,000,000

Total manufactures, Great Britain stood

(1880) . . . . . £758,000,000

Total of the United States (1880) . £888,000,000

In carrying power by sea, the United King-

dom stood (1879)<sup>1</sup> . . . . . 16,630,000 tons.

The United States stood (1879) . . . . 2,315,000 tons.

In agriculture Great Britain is losing ground,

33 per cent of the meat and 40 per cent

of the grain consumed by her is imported

from foreign countries — a large propor-

tion being from the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Mulhall, Balance Sheet of the World, 1880.



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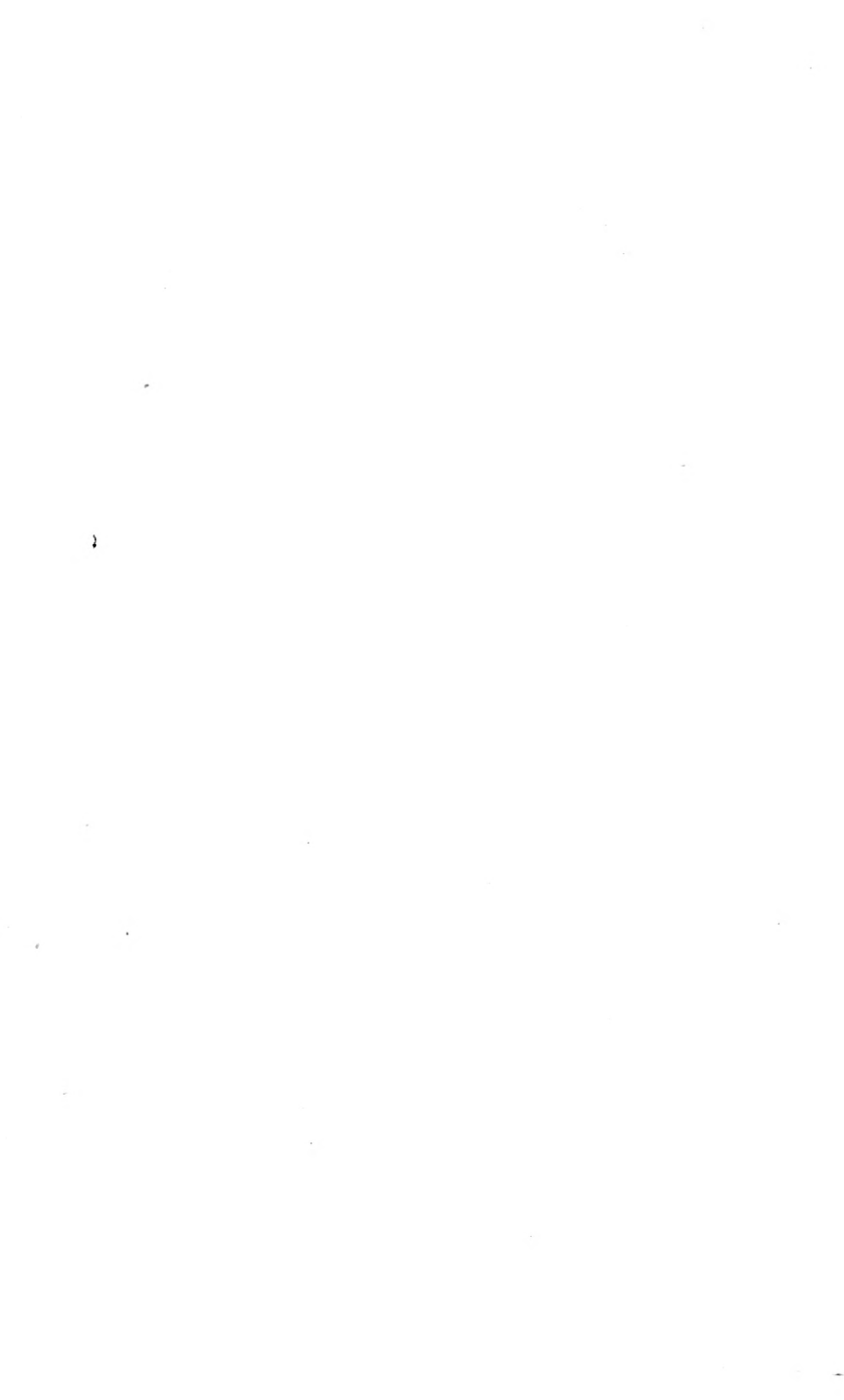
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